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SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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KHERSON RAYKOM ELECTS KOLKHOZ CHAIRMAN

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent V. Vasilets under the "Party Life: the Experience of Restructuring" rubric: "A Lesson for the Raykom"; first five paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Kherson Oblast--"Our congratulations. We wish you success. We hope you will be able to put things right."

"I will try."

Thus ended an interview in the obkom Agriculture Department, to which V. Khokhlov, candidate for the position of chairman of the "Radyanska Ukraina" Kolkhoz, had been invited for "inspection".

It had been preceded by a discussion in the rayon agro-industrial association and the raykom:

"We know you, Comrade Khokhlov, as an experienced executive and competent specialist. We will recommend to the general assembly that you be elected chairman."

The position of chairman is on the obkom schedule, and at first sight there had been no deviation in the existing pattern of personnel selection. But the trouble is that the "matchmakers" had forgotten that their actions pertained not to the past but to the present, when the old approaches have had their day and when former prescriptions have proven unsuitable for personnel work.

However, let us take all this in order. What had happened on "Radyanska Ukraina" had disturbed the whole district. Two drivers had died from alcoholic poisoning. The booze-up had been organized by their colleague V. Smoliyenko. This apology for a driver had long had a tarnished reputation. Police officers had brought charges against him for driving while intoxicated. The last submission to Kolkhoz Chairman S. Kozyuberda had been sent on the eve of the tragedy. But the latter not only failed to take steps to make the profligate see reason but, on the contrary, entrusted Smoliyenko with a new automobile, which the outfit decided to "break in".

Nine liters of home brew were made for the ceremony. P. Naumov, member of the CPSU and driver of the kolkhoz bus, seated the fraternity in the cab and drove them as far from the public eye as possible--to an animal husbandry complex under construction. After the liquor had been drunk, the party began to break up.

Yes, it was an accident. But there had long been problems with discipline on the farm, which was to a considerable extent the fault of Chairman S. Kozyuberda. Production also was taking shape accordingly. The kolkhoz owed the state R5 million. Last year the animal husbandry sector alone incurred a loss of R400,000. And now the accident....

In a word, life had knocked from the beaten path onto the side of the road S. Kozyuberda and those who had pandered to him and closed their eyes to the true state of affairs on the farm. The obkom bureau finally paid people according to their deserts. It was at this session that the question of a successor to the chairman arose.

Khokhlov had headed the Farm Workers Union raykom. He had in the past worked in industry. He had higher education. Why not chairman? That he was not known on the kolkhoz, attention did not have to be drawn to this specially. How many such "outside chairmen" have in recent years been moved in raykom "gaziks" and "uaziks"!

In some places it has become almost customary to decide on people without people. "The opinion is," "this is what the raykom believes," "it can be seen more clearly from above"--such are the usual formulas. Outwardly all is seemingly open and democratic, it is true. But essentially? Look at the role of the kolkhoz general assemblies. They have by degrees acquired the power to vote not for a leader but to elect his electors, so-called empowered representatives. This practice has led to the point where not the whole workforce but merely individual representatives thereof participate at the final stage in elections. If there are fewer people, it is easier for the raykom representative to carry through the "right line" and defend a nomination scheduled in advance. Incidentally, specialists in carrying out such assignments have appeared even. They have learned to influence an audience such that not everyone has time to collect himself before an end has been called to the proceedings, the vote-counting is over and the decision has been made.

The raykom bureau entrusted the election of a chairman on "Radyanska Ukraina" to Second Secretary A. Kerekelitsa and Rayispolkom Chairman Ye. Gubar. To both of them it seemed a customary undertaking.

The assembly was proceeding per the prescribed scenario until S. Mikhalchevskiy, senior agronomist of the farm and member of the kolkhoz party committee, arose. He proposed the election as chairman of the board not of a "Varangian" but of a home-grown specialist--Anatoliy Vladimirovich Vlasenko. Mikhalchevskiy had encroached upon the standing orders because he knew whom the raykom people had brought with them and for what purpose they

had seated him in the presidium. He knew whom, but did not know what kind of person he was. But so many years of work side by side together with Vlasenko! He gave reasons for his opinion.

Anatoliy was young, 31 years of age. The son of grain growers. He had been a tally clerk and rice-growing team leader, he had graduated from a technical secondary school and the agricultural academy and had headed the feed-procurement sector. He was industrious--he did not shun repair of the tractor or operation of the mowing machine. He knew his job--he had introduced new forage preparation and storage technology. He was demanding and scrupulous and was not afraid to tell anyone the truth to his face and uphold it to the end.

As we can see, a worthy candidate in fact. It was no accident that his name met with many people's concerted support. And when it came to the vote, a forest of hands shot up. People listened to themselves, voluntarily--and made a choice without appeals and compulsion....

I chatted with Raykom First Secretary G. Kozhemyakin and Second Secretary Kerekelitsa, whom we have already mentioned, and other staff executives. I heard: Vlasenko is a find, a surprise. And I thought: from the raykom building to the kolkhoz office is 5 minutes' walk. Why was this find a surprise? After all, in addition to everything else, I discovered in Vlasenko's personal file that he was a member of the city soviet and of the rayon party organization auditing commission....

Life itself had promoted this person to leadership of the outfit. But this was what was troubling my companions: who would now write to the obkom an objective report on Vlasenko and propose his confirmation as chairman? After all, the raykom had not made the nomination. It was somewhat unusual.

Oh, this paper merry-go-round! Did this have to be given the most thought now? Was something else not more important--helping the new leader feel at home right at the start?

I inquired how he was getting down to business, how he felt. There was no answer. No one knew. No one had since the assembly visited the kolkhoz, although a considerable amount of time had elapsed.

deciding personnel questions.

The same evening V. Khokhlov, who is familiar to us, had the good fortune to be recommended for the position of chief of the Krasnoznamensk Irrigation System Operating Administration. And here he was appointed an executive.

Comment of A. Girenko, first secretary of the Kherson Obkom:

Yes, what happened in Skadovsk was a lesson for the raykom and the obkom. Many raykoms are operating as yet by the authority of power and not deed. Stereotypes of the poll selection of leaders and a variety of coordination, representation and overinsurance--in short, overorganization--still prevail over our personnel. And the opinions of the primary party organization and the workforce are frequently not taken into consideration.

I believe the kolkhoz members were very correct in nominating a leader from their midst. There is no reason to fear such independence.

Of course, this does not mean that the party committees should absent themselves from such a most important business as the selection of personnel. It is necessary only to perfect it in every possible way and listen to people more attentively. And there is no avoiding here the question of work with the personnel reserve. The Skadovsk business showed that we have an inadequate knowledge of people locally, and those whom we know at the top are not known in the masses. The conclusion: there is not enough openness and specificity in the work with the reserve.

Look what happened with Khokhlov. He was not accepted as chairman, so he was appointed a chief. I do not wish to cast aspersions on the person, but had he been trained not for promotion in general but for a specific position and not externally but in contact with people, such a nominee would undoubtedly have been found suitable.

It is gratifying that alternative solutions of problems are being sought currently not only in secretary's and instructor's offices but are being suggested and implemented by a wide range of people, in which I see specific support for the policy of reconstruction adopted by the party.

Reports and elections on the kolkhozes were completed recently. They were more active and businesslike than ever. Collective-bargaining agreements were discussed comprehensively and in depth. Criticism was bolder and more constructive, lack of confidence was rightly expressed in many executives, and in an atmosphere of extensive publicity and competitiveness new comrades were elected in their place.

The elections on "Radyanska Ukraina" have already been described. In accordance with the wishes of the workforce A. Simurenko and A. Golovenko have become chiefs of the Kakhovka Railroad Division and the Velikholepetikhskiy Power Grids Management, and A. Dosenko, director of the Kherson Custom Tailoring Factory. V. Zhilnikov, whose name had been put on the list together with the names of three other candidates for this position, was elected by open ballot chairman of the Golopristsanskiy Rayon Potreboyuz Central Rural Consumers' Society. Nominations have now begun in the Kherson Sea Port in the lower components for the position of chief.

The democratization of management is under way in breadth and in depth. In industry, construction, communications and transport more than 3,000 shop chiefs and foremen have for the first time been appointed with regard for the opinion of the workforce. Some 700 of the oblast's kolkhoz and sovkhoz brigade leaders have passed through such a "filter".

The party's faith in people's collective wisdom is stimulating their creative attitude.

8850

CSO: 1800/474

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

VOROSHILOVGRAD OBLAST CENSURED, 1ST SECRETARY GONCHARENKO FIRED

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Feb 87 p 2

[Article: "In the Central Committee of the Ukrainian CP"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party's Central Committee Politburo has examined the article "Beyond the Last Boundary," published on 4 January in the newspaper PRAVDA, and acknowledged the criticism of the party's Voroshilovgrad obkom to be well founded and just.

An on-site study of the situation has shown that the oblast committed a number of gross violations of socialist law, including unlawful charge and the arrest of V. Berkhin, head of the journal SOVETSKIY SHAKHTER's press office. Upon conclusion of the investigation of this case by the USSR Public Prosecutor's Office, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee issued severe reprimands to those removed from office: V. P. Shatalov, the former oblast public prosecutor; A. N. Dichenko, former chief of the State Security Committee administration; and also G. M. Vetrov, former chief of the Internal Affairs Administration's oblast ispolkom. The party obkom was instructed to study the causes of the violations and call those guilty to account. However, after examining the problem, the party obkom on 29 December 1986 limited its punishment to persons working in administrative agencies and failed to give a party assessment of the activities of other workers who were taking part in cases of gross violation of socialist law.

In characterizing the situation in the oblast as a whole, it should be noted that the party's course towards restructuring has received the support of both the oblast's communists and workers. Plans have been fulfilled in the current year for industrial production, including by enterprises in the coal and metallurgical industries, as well as for procurements of animal produce and the introduction of housing and projects for social and cultural purposes.

Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the obkom, gorkoms and raykoms, effective measures have not been taken in the party to eliminate entirely stagnant features of the economy and social sphere, to accelerate scientific and technical progress, and to raise the efficiency of agricultural production.

The party obkom, together with a number of gorkoms and raykoms, is still ridding itself slowly of worn-out and outdated forms and methods of organizational and political work, and the restructuring is being carried out in a slack manner by many party organizations. There is a lack of openness in the advancement of workers; collective leadership is not always practiced, and the opinions of party organizations and worker collectives are not always taken into consideration. Often administration is left to rules and regulations, and the high rate of replacement of personnel is unjustified. Connivance and tolerance in dealing with those who break party and state discipline and resort to padding accounts persist. In educating cadres to eliminate shortcomings, criticism and self-criticism are little utilized.

The obkom buro and secretariat have not developed a situation of a commonly demanding atmosphere and high responsibility, of comradely trust, for openly discussing shortcomings. B.T. Goncharenko, who possesses the positive qualities of a leader as well as practical experience, has recently begun to demonstrate an excessively arbitrary attitude, subjectivism, and undue sensitivity to criticism. He has admitted that as first secretary of the obkom he was the one primarily guilty of the shortcomings that occurred.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee has decided to relieve B.T. Goncharenko of his official position and to discuss measures for eliminating the shortcomings that have been revealed and for strengthening the leadership of the oblast party organization at a plenary session of the Voroshilovgrad party obkom. Severe reprimands have been issued for legal violations committed in the oblast and for shortcomings in management of the economy; they have been entered in the registration cards of R.P. Zverev, chairman of the oblast ispolkom, and of N.M. Popov, second secretary of the party obkom.

The Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party has taken into consideration that by a resolution of the party obkom buro K. G. Boyko, chairman of the oblast Committee of People's Control, has been censured for unscrupulousness in the selection of personnel when he was first secretary of the Novopetrovskiy party raykom; the reprimand has been entered in his registration card. O.I. Kotlyar, first secretary of the party's Voroshilovgrad gorkom, has been singled out for a belated party assessment of unlawful activities on the part of workers in the administrative organs, as has N. V. Bakumenko, obkom secretary, for allowing a lack of control in the monitoring of letters by L. Ishchuk concerning the 27th CPSU Congress. Other workers guilty in this respect have been called to account.

In compliance with the demands of the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee has charged the party buro of the Voroshilovgrad obkom to step up the effort to reorganize the style and methods of activity by party, soviet and economic organs; to focus its energies on fulfilling the

national economic plans, and to devote special attention to making up for the delays permitted in the early part of the year. Particular attention was directed to the necessity, in endeavoring to develop socialist democracy, of extending openness, of criticism and self-criticism, especially of criticism from below, as well as the impact of the press, radio and television.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Secretariat has been ordered to render the obkom practical assistance in carrying out the reorganization. The Ministry of the Coal Industry, the State Agroindustrial Committee, the construction ministries, and republic law enforcement agencies have been ordered to study and resolve a number of specific problems involved in speeding the development of the economy and social sphere and in strengthening socialist law and order in the society.

12889/9190

CSO: 1800/376

ROSTOV OBKOM OFFICIALS REPLY TO CRITICISM

PM101448 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 February 1987 carries on page 11 a feature headed "They Will not Bury Us," a follow-up to the 7 January 1987 Vladimir Fomin article "How They Buried Us," on the lavish funeral of Rostov Oblast Trade Administration chief Budnitskiy who, not long before his death, was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for bribe-taking. The feature begins with a 1,200-word unattributed roundup of readers' letters expressing indignation at the Rostov events, describing the funeral as a "brazen demonstration of solidarity with a criminal" and an "insult to the socialist system," and demanding openness. The review points out that so far the editorial office has received only two replies to the numerous questions raised in the original article, both from groups of readers who report on the failure to impose due penalties on those involved in the scandal, and calls on the local and central bodies concerned to reply to the remaining questions.

An editorial note points out that since this review of letters was prepared, official replies have been received. The paper publishes in full a letter from Rostov CPSU Obkom Secretary L. Ivanchenko, and gives a brief account of a reply from RSFSR Minister of Justice A. Ya. Sukharev. Ivanchenko's 800-word letter outlines the measures taken by the obkom in response to Fomin's article. L.A. Goldshlyak, manager of the Tyazhstroykomplekt trust, Yu. G. Kozhevnikov, chief of the legal section of the Southwestern Department of the All-Union Copyright Agency, and N.L. Andreyeva of the Rostov Medical Institute were expelled from the party for their "political shortsightedness" in taking part in the funeral, while party penalties were imposed and administrative measures taken against a number of other local officials involved. The 200-word account of Sukharev's reply explains that the ministry carried out an investigation at the scene of the events and as a result several officials in the judicial system were dismissed or reprimanded.

/6662

CSO: 1800/453

BSSR BURO HITS COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS, LAND IMPROVEMENT PROBLEMS

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 12 Dec 86 p 1

[Article: "In the Buro of the Central Committee of BSSR CP"]

[Text] On December 10, 1986, the Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee met to discuss problems in the republic's communications network, its present state and further development. Over 300 million roubles reportedly have been budgeted for this purpose in the 11th five-year plan. This is almost twice as much as had been allotted by the previous five-year plan. The capacity of automatic telephone exchanges increased by 1.4 times; the length of long-distance lines increased by 1.8 times. Television, radio networks, telegraph and postal communications--all have undergone further expansion. The volume of communication service increased by 28%.

At the same time the development rate of communications was not adequate to the increasing needs of the economy and population. Material and technological resources for communications are developing and improving slowly. Growth of the telephone network has slowed down considerably. The postal service and especially mail delivery require further improvement. The executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies have slackened their attention towards the development of means of communications.

The BSSR Ministry of Communications (Comrade I.M. Gritsuk), as required by the Buro of the Central Committee of Belorussian CP, should take certain measures to expedite further development of all means of communications in the republic. It should also improve the quality of all services. To this purpose it should use extensively progress achieved in science and technology, and should re-structure and re-equip communications organizations. The BSSR Ministry [the Ministry for Construction of Belorussia] (Comrade S.V. Bril), Belsetstroy (the Board for Rural Construction of Belorussia) (Comrade A.T. Kichkailo), oblispolkoms and Minsk gorispolkom are urged to provide unconditional completion of all work contracted for the BSSR Ministry of Communications. They should see that all construction is completed and operation started at every communications unit on schedule as planned.

The Buro heard the report made by the party bureau and collegium of the BSSR Ministry of Water Resources. The report outlined the increased responsibility of managers and staff experts for implementation in production of achievements

in science and technology and for improvements in the quality of land-reclamation work. The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee noted a fundamental restructuring in the activity of the Ministry collegium and party organization had not yet taken place. Over 42% of all workers in the field do manual labor. Land-reclamation equipment is not used efficiently. Almost all the machines are being worked during only one shift; they stand idle for too long. The quality of work is sometimes poor; operation starting dates are being delayed.

The Ministry staff and party organization failed to create an atmosphere of demandingly high standards and of businesslike criticism and self-criticism. They did not rid themselves of unpractical bureaucratic methods of management. Insufficient attention is being paid to selection, placement and training of personnel.

In regard to the increased responsibility expected from management and staff experts for accelerating progress in science and technology required by party decisions and in regard to improving the quality of construction work at land-reclamation projects, the performance of the collegium (First Deputy Minister L.I. Berdichevets) and of the party buro (Secretary L.F. Bliznets) of the BSSR Ministry of Water Resources was rated unsatisfactory by the Buro. The Buro also demanded that they take drastic measures to correct the abovementioned shortcomings.

The Minsk Central Raykom of the Belorussian CP has been reprimanded with respect to weak leadership over the activity of the primary party organization of the BSSR Ministry of Water Resources.

The collegium and the party buro of the Ministry have been required to provide a streamlined policy. It should help to implement the decisions outlined in the Long-term Program of Land-Reclamation and to increase the effectiveness in using reclaimed land in Belorussia.

The Buro discussed organizational problems in connection with women's soviets that should be formed at places of residence and work, as required by the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU. The obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms and primary party organizations of Belorussia are to provide necessary organizational and explanatory help all over the republic so that women's soviets are formed and a wide number of women become involved in their activities.

At the meeting, the Buro also approved the initiative promoted by workers and residents of Novopolotsk and Brestskaya and Mogilevskaya oblasts. They provided aid to kolkhozes, sovkhoses, construction and other organizations in building houses and service facilities. The Buro recommended that every city and rayon adopt this experience.

The Buro of Belorussian CP Central Committee also passed resolutions on several other problems of party work.

13329

CSO: 1800/292

PUGO SPEAKS AT MEETING OF JOURNALISTS IN RIGA

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 1, Jan 87 pp 2-5

[Report on interview with Boris Karlovich Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, by an unnamed ZHURNALIST correspondent under the "Concerning the Sixth USSR Journalists Union Congress" rubric: "The Acceleration Needs Quality"; date and place of interview not given; first four paragraphs are introduction, printed in boldface type in source]

[Text] One of the main discussion topics at the forthcoming Sixth USSR Journalists Union Congress will be press participation in accomplishing the 5-year plan's most important tasks and, first of all, in improving work quality and product quality. There was talk of this, also, at the All-Union Journalists Seminar that took place in Riga at the end of last year.

The place for conducting the seminar was not fortuitously chosen. The Latvian SSR holds one of the first positions in the country in the output of products in the highest quality category. A goal-oriented, comprehensive program, "Quality-90" is in effect in the republic.

Boris Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the seminar's work and spoke at it.

Today he answers our correspondent's questions about the role of journalists in improving the quality of products and labor.

[Question] Program "Quality-90," which you, Boris Karlovich, first told us about in your address at the 27th CPSU Congress, has seriously interested both managers and journalists. Our readers are asking what the new program is, how it differs from previous programs, and what kinds of tasks it sets before the mass information media?

[Answer] I shall not conceal the fact that the attention the press is showing toward the comprehensive "Quality-90" program is pleasing to us. It convinces us that the program's developers have not labored in vain. However, the main reason for the journalistic interest lies, I think, in that sharp turn of public attention toward product and work quality which is becoming ever more noticeable in the course of the reorganization.

What brought about the appearance of this and the other programs? The answer is simple. Practical experience had convinced us that only a comprehensive, goal-oriented-program approach to solution of the universal problems is capable of overcoming departmental barriers and uniting the efforts of party committees and ministries, scientific institutions, and labor collectives in the primary direction.

The first programs for controlling product quality, developed according to the Lvov people's example, appeared in Latvia as early as during the 10th 5-Year Plan. These were constantly improved, and they evolved into industry and territorial systems. In 1982, the USSR Gosstandart [State Committee for Standards] approved the republic's comprehensive system, which, in combination with socialist competition under the motto "For the high quality of labor at every work place," made it possible to bring the proportion of products with the Mark of Quality up to 58 percent by the end of the 11th 5-Year Plan. At that time, this was one of the best indices in the country.

However, after the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government were required to analyze in earnest what had been achieved, inasmuch as it had become clear that we had no cause for contentment. Even with the naked eye, it was apparent that the achieved level no longer met the growing requirements. It was especially disturbing that many products were seriously lagging behind the best world models in quality.

[Question] In other words they were noncompetitive?

[Answer] Precisely so. Then the specialists were presented with the task of developing such a program of actions as would make it possible to overcome the lag in abbreviated time periods. "Quality-90" envisages doubling the output volume of competitive products during the 5-year plan. The output of improved-quality goods with index "N" and the especially modish products will increase substantially.

Constituting the basis of this important document are 39 goal-oriented programs for raising the technical level and quality of the most important kinds of products. These direct the labor collectives, not simply toward increasing quality, but toward attaining and surpassing the level of the best world models. Home radio equipment, electric trains, motorbikes, compressors, many fabrics, perfume and cosmetic items, and other products are to be brought up to a high grade.

Made subject to attaining the set goals are subprograms for the reconstruction and technical re-equipment of many enterprises, which have become a component part of "Quality-90." The program includes eight more subprograms that envisage improving the systems for controlling product and labor quality at enterprises and in the industries and regions, increasing the effectiveness of socialist competition, building up the material base for the services controlling quality, improving production living conditions, training personnel, and propagandizing advanced experience. The work to improve quality affects all stages--from an innovation's development to the finished product's packing.

Measures concerning production living conditions and improvement in working conditions have been introduced into the program for the first time, which strengthens its social tenor.

Many labor collectives, the ministries and departments, and most scientific institutions have become executives of the program. Management of its implementation has been assigned to the Council for Promoting Scientific and Technical Progress attached to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, and the Latvian Republic Administration of the USSR Gosstandart is fulfilling the role of chief coordinator.

[Question] The new program also has new executives that did not exist before--quality initiative groups. What are they?

[Answer] These are rather like quality clubs. The leading and most skilled workers and engineers enter into them. These small groups of like-minded persons undertake the solving of pressing technical problems, and they do not just develop proposals for increasing quality, but also put these into practice themselves.

Such initiative groups are formed both in brigades and on enterprisewide scales. They have gained a good reputation in a short time. They function especially effectively in the "Latvbytkhim" ["Latvian Household Chemical Products"] Association. For example, the quality initiative group headed by Engineer-Technologist V. Ishanin developed an original accessory for the valve assembly line. It practically precludes the output of poor quality products, and makes possible the saving of almost a quarter of a million rubles during a year.

In all, there are over 400 quality groups in the republic, and their number is increasing steadily. And the public review of their work that the republic's Labor Unions Council and Latvian radio are conducting this year will help increase the work's usefulness.

[Question] What kinds of tasks face the republic's mass information and propaganda media in connection with the "Quality-90" program?

[Answer] First, it was necessary to report the new program's essence and significance to every worker. The journalists handled this duty quite successfully. "Quality-90" rubrics appeared in all the newspapers and periodicals. A weekly "Quality Hour" became customary on Latvian television.

Specialists in standardization and executives of the ministries and departments made presentations on the pages of the republic's newspaper TSINYA. They acquainted the readers with the new comprehensive program's features, and told them about what is to be done for its fulfillment. They did not just give information, but also made a number of interesting suggestions for the work's improvement.

SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA also prepared quite a few meaty presentations. The materials of an editorial office meeting at "the round table," in which a business-like exchange of opinions took place about ways to increase product and labor quality, supplemented the presentations well.

The republic's journalists made a weighty contribution to explanation of the goals and problems of state product acceptance at industrial enterprises and to the shaping of a correct public opinion. The first materials on this theme already had appeared on the newspapers' pages in September of last year. And, after the well-known conference in the CPSU Central Committee, special rubrics ("The Gospriyemka [State Product Acceptance Service]--Examination for Use Suitability," "The State Product Acceptance Service Makes an Evaluation," and others) were instituted on the pages of republic and plant newspapers. Since the beginning of the present year, journalists have taken sponsorship over all enterprises in which state product acceptance has been introduced and are actively helping the labor collectives and the new service's workers in the struggle to increase product quality. True, the first publications still are lacking in depth, but the work's direction has been correctly chosen.

Second, we have asked the journalists to commence a fight against unconcern and complacency, and to criticize in earnest those workers who are satisfied with the attained level. And there still are a good many such in the republic. They exist, for example, even at the well-known RAF [Riga Motor Vehicle Factory] minibus plant located in the city of Yelgava.

Having once earned the Mark of Quality for their extremely popular vehicle, they have done little else at the plant to ensure further increase in production's technical level. Why worry, the plant's managers have reasoned, they fight with each other to get the bus just as it is, and we shall, in time, eliminate the defects discovered during the vehicle's certification.

Such unconcern has cost them dearly. During a routine check, USSR Gosstandart workers took the Mark of Quality off the minibus, and instituted a special product acceptance procedure.

The irresponsibility of the plant's managers was severely censured at a meeting of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's Buro. It was recommended that the managers continue in the collective the discussion begun in the buro, and that they take the necessary steps to eliminate the defects. However, instead of this, the plant's management and the partkom [party committee] began to look for excuses in the subcontractors' shortcomings. What can we do, they said, when the suppliers send us poor quality component products. And there was idle talk around the shops to the effect that the collective and its managers were suffering for something not their fault.

Then the Yelgava newspaper TRUDOVAYA POBEDA made a just rebuttal to this cover-up. It cited precisely the causes and names of those to blame for the plant trademark's decline in prestige. The party's city committee supported the newspaper, and nothing else was left for the plant managers to do but roll up their sleeves and begin energetic elimination of the defects.

Third, the mass information media have been instructed to intensify the propagandizing of the advanced experience of those collectives and workers that most successfully carry out the "Quality-90" program's tasks. Now sketches and essays concerning workers outstanding for quality and reports telling about enterprises awarded the "Outstanding Quality Collective" title have begun to appear more frequently.

Kh. Balode, female staff member of the newspaper TSINYA, prepared an interesting set of materials on advanced experience. She closely studied the Belorussian shoe manufacturers' advanced work methods and, by her presentations, convinced the republic's Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] specialists of the advisability of applying this experience.

[Question] Consequently, this conclusion may be drawn: Latvia's journalists have intensified their attention to the quality-increase theme.

[Answer] One can agree with such an appraisal, although with reservations. Here, however, it must be added that the implementation of this most important program thus far has not become theme number one for them. In a number of newspapers and periodicals, they return to the theme from time to time, not having worked out an effective system for presenting the materials. These presentations are very traditional: a notice about an innovation, a report from a fair, a letter about the delivery of poor-quality raw material. Much more rarely, one may encounter on the pages a businesslike report about the role of designers, or about increasing production regularity or strengthening technological discipline. The press still tells little about the work and problems of the quality initiative groups.

Latvia's Communist Party Central Committee also is dissatisfied with the criticism in the local press. It is often devoid of names, without teeth, and one-sided. You read a certain report, and perforce arrive at the conclusion that the journalist is criticizing, not a developer's irresponsibility, not a slipshod worker, but the circumstances themselves. This is no longer even criticism, but a sort of negative publicity from which there are only losses.

It has become a habit with some journalists to heap all the blame for low-quality products on the shop and enterprise managers. But, to be sure, every defect has its own quite specific person to blame. Is the director alone really to blame that the sole of a shoe is poorly glued on, or a pocket is sewed on a coat askew? It is clear, even to a non-specialist, that someone among the workers performed his operation carelessly. True, it is necessary to find the person to blame, and to talk with him. But the manager is always in view.

It is time to discover the specific careless workers, and call them by name for the sake of their universal censuring. A. Strauts, one of the most senior TSINYA journalists, recently set a good example for his colleagues. He decided to ascertain why a tractor had been poorly repaired at one of the Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Commission] enterprises. He analyzed the

work in the entire technological sequence, from receipt to outgoing inspection, found the persons to blame, and named them. They were compelled to acknowledge their being at fault and redo the work. I am certain that this material made more than just these careless workers stop and think. Strauts' followers made themselves known, and the regularly appearing rubric "Who is Responsible for This?" showed up on TSINYA's pages.

The critical materials published on the pages of the Daugavpils city newspaper KRASNOYE ZNAMYA, under the "For a Defect--A Calling to Account" rubric, and the work of journalists of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, who founded "The Museum of Careless Workers" on its pages, deserve praise.

For the sake of fairness, it should be noted that there is beginning to be more criticism in other publications as well. The work that the central committee carried out with the first secretaries of party raykoms [rayon committees] and gorkoms [city committees] and the newspaper editors after the June (1986) CPSU Central Committee Plenum furthered this in many respects. The task of more boldly criticizing defects, without regard to personalities, was set before the journalists, and it was recommended to the party committees that they support the newspapers' presentations more consistently and with greater principle and strive for timely and businesslike reaction to the criticism. However, these appeals have not met with a proper response everywhere.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] The habit of working in the old way is making itself felt as before. The party committees wait for initiatives from the journalists, and the latter, in their turn--wait for recommendations from the raykom [party rayon committee]. There unintentionally was occasion to become convinced of this again at a session of the central committee secretariate, in which the effectiveness of presentations in the Stuchkinskiy Rayon newspaper KOMUNISMA UZVARA (POBEDA KOMMUNIZMA [COMMUNISM'S VICTORY]) was analyzed.

We asked the Raykom First Secretary O. Yadzevich why there is so little criticism on the newspaper's pages. "Well, for some reason, the journalists do not like critical presentations," she answered. "Is that so?" we expressed interest to Editor K. Danilevich. He was silent for a long time, and then, with a sigh, he acknowledged: "Well, you know how much of a flap there is with these critical materials. When you publish them--things get worse for you: Then you'll spend a week just on clarifications."

Of course it is more comfortable to live without criticism; the nerves are less frayed. But how, then, is one to fight against defects?

[Question] Does it appear that a more decisive and rapid reorientation is required of the journalists?

[Answer] Beyond all doubt. They are obliged to be bolder and more principled, and not wait for instructions from higher authority, but show initiative, and learn to defend their positions.

Much also depends, of course, upon the party committees and their desire and ability to support their newspapermen. However, the journalists, I think, should have the first say. Practical experience convinces me that where there are more bold and capable journalists there also are more businesslike critical presentations. To be convinced of this, it suffices to compare our republican newspapers TSINYA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA. As you know, both the latter and the former are Latvian Communist Party Central Committee organs. We make the same demands of them, and help them to an equal extent. And yet there are more critical presentations in TSINYA. Consequently, its staff members are re-orienting themselves more boldly and rapidly.

We understand that you do not instill boldness in a journalist overnight, and we are urging the party committees toward continuous and persistent development of criticism and self-criticism in the press and on radio and television.

We party workers also are counting heavily upon ZHURNALIST's help in resolving this problem. In my opinion, the periodical should tell us more frequently and zealously about journalists who do not limit themselves to recording changes but are real fighters for the acceleration and reorganization; it is necessary to teach others boldness and persistence by their example.

We also expect new approaches to solution of the seemingly customary problems from the journalists, and businesslike recommendations.

[Question] Judging by all of this, the mass information and propaganda media's role in increasing product and labor quality should also be viewed in a new light?

[Answer] I agree. Many participants in the journalists seminar held in Riga also reached such a conclusion. It is thought that there also will be talk of this at the congress. You know, right now the attitude of the staff members of some newspapers and periodicals (not just Latvian, but central as well) to this problem is difficult even to understand. On the one hand, they seem to be wholeheartedly for high quality, but on the other--they advocate quantity much more.

Look at what they write about and whom they praise. Usually it is someone who has done more and overfulfilled a quota. And now and then an item will flash by to the effect that such and such a worker has begun to turn in products on just their first presentation, and has earned the right to apply his personal mark. There come to mind the words of V.V. Kuybyshev, who observed as long ago as 1931, in the report "Tempos and Quality," that the newspapers write mainly about how much is done, and not about how.

This habit's roots are deep. For various reasons, we did not have enough Machine tools, machinery, clothing, shoes, and other goods for a long time. And industry tried to provide as many more of them as possible in order to satisfy the people's most vital needs a little sooner. The planning system, the wages, and even the moral encouragement were aimed at rapid growth in quantity. The mass information media also did their bit in the struggle for quantity. Caught up by the rise of the "wave," some journalists confined themselves to hackneyed phrases about quality's importance.

However, the emphasis in plans now is being placed, not upon quantity, but upon product quality. The management mechanism is being improved for the sake of this. The State Product Acceptance Service and the new wage system also require that quality be the main criterion in evaluating work. This was talked about at a conference in the CPSU Central Committee, in which the problems of instituting state product acceptance at industrial enterprises were discussed: "The acceleration must proceed only through high quality, through better products with high productive capacities, which provide for the introduction of labor- and resource-saving technologies, etc. Only through quality. The acceleration is linked inseparably to quality. He who thinks otherwise so far is failing to understand at all what the acceleration is. He thinks it is slapdash [tyap-lyap]: Come on, slap out a little more. And he does not stop to think: But do the national economy and the people need the thing at all in such shape? Such an approach is not acceleration; from a modern point of view, it is the stone age."

And the journalists are right, who asserted at the seminar in Riga that the tempos today are without quality--not acceleration, but opportunism. Now it is necessary to give battle to the careless workers, and create, as IZVESTIYA journalist A. Druzenko expressed himself, "extremely exciting" materials about quality. In other words, it is necessary even to write about it with high quality.

[Question] And doubtless it is necessary to say less about the nuts and bolts and figures than about people's conscience and professional pride?

[Answer] Absolutely right. Journalists love to write that "conscience is the best controller," but they often forget: In order for it to cope with this complicated duty, it must at least be awakened. Indeed, it is no secret to anyone that there are quite a few workers who are not ashamed to put out poor-quality products.

As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said in Khabarovsk: "The managers have grown accustomed to the fact that the consumers cannot go elsewhere--they will take the products. Well, but what is to be done with the conviction in this case, and with the fact that the country needs products that are more economical, more reliable, and of higher quality?"

It is not just the managers who need to think about this. Complacency and dependence have put down deep roots in many people's consciousness. Sociological research that associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Socio-Economic Problems recently conducted on assignment from the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee at a number of the republic's enterprises also confirms this. It turned out that many people sincerely believe that the quality of products in no way depends upon them. Let there be excellent raw material, reliable equipment, and good wages--and high quality will be ensured. However, practical experience shows that, under the same conditions, different people produce products of different quality. Those who work conscientiously put out high-quality products, and those in the habit of saying "it will pass as it is"--the products with defects.

I think many journalists have detected this feature of modern production, but so far just write more in their materials about improvement of equipment and technology than about moral education.

But, to be sure, any sloppily done work, any defective product--is not only a violation of the GOST's [All-Union State Standards] and technological discipline, but contempt for Soviet moral standards as well. Is it really possible to resign oneself to an indifferent attitude toward assigned work? It is necessary to strive tirelessly to the end that the ground will burn under careless workers' feet, that they will be denounced, not by individual persons, but by the entire society, doing work poorly will be, not only disadvantageous, but shameful as well.

I understand that not everything in the solution of this problem depends upon the mass information media, but I shall venture to assert that very much does.

Journalists should not forget that new materials and equipment will not appear very soon. But good, even high product quality already must be ensured today. In this circumstance, it is necessary to make use of the human factor even more actively, and to fight, first of all, for conscientious labor in every work place. We shall be able to increase labor quality--and product quality also will improve.

Who is there, if not journalists, to raise the prestige of conscientious labor, and to publicize conscientious people, professionals, and masters of their trades! PRAVDA, on the pages of which materials are appearing more and more often under a "Those Who Live According to Their Conscience" rubric, sets a good example for journalists. Such a rubric might well be instituted in every newspaper.

There still is very much to be done to raise our Soviet trademark's prestige. It is time to undertake in earnest the destruction of the commonly accepted stereotype about foreign goods' being better. Today, however, there is little to recommend a good thing, and it is still necessary to convince people that it really is better than its foreign counterparts. And here the journalists' help is very much to the point.

[Question] The preparation of an effective presentation necessarily requires good knowledge of the subject. What have the republic's party committees undertaken to familiarize journalists with the "Quality-90" program?

[Answer] Immediately after the program's approval, a press conference was organized. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's Propaganda and Agitation Department developed special recommendations for the journalists, which were then supplemented locally by the raykoms' and gorkoms' specific recommendations.

Many of the journalists became members of a business club organized by our Central Committee's Department of Industry. The implementation status of the "Quality-90" program is discussed regularly at its meetings. The results of the sociological research into the workers' attitude toward quality have been given to the editorial offices.

Summaries of the local press in the republic's newspapers TSINYA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA are helping the rayon and city newspapers find the right direction in developing this important theme. A special contest, organized by the republic's journalists union, also will serve to propagandize the best journalists' experience. Quality problems are being studied in skill-increasing creative seminars and courses.

[Question] Program "Quality-90" is called a republic program, but not just the Latvian journalists can further its successful fulfillment.

[Answer] Without a doubt. Indeed, the carrying out of many intentions and plans depends to no small extent upon the subcontractors [smezhniki]. And our labor collectives have these in all corners of the Soviet Union--they supply equipment, materials, and component products, and, occasionally, are in no hurry to improve quality. It is possible, of course, to criticize such sluggish comrades in the republic's newspapers. And the journalists often do this. However, it does little good. Usually only the director or secretary of the party committees to which the editorial offices send their newspapers read such criticism. A much greater effect is obtained when the Soviet Union press or newspaper for the region where the irresponsible supplier is located takes action regarding the slipshod workers.

It is not necessary to look far for examples. How did our local publications not criticize the "Radiotekhnika" ["Radio Equipment"] Production Association's subcontractors who send it obviously defective products! They telephoned the latter, and sent them clippings of their materials, but all to no avail. However, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA had only to tell about the matter on its pages, and a whole delegation arrived in Riga from the industry's ministry. It convinced itself of the criticism's justness, and did a good job of shaking up the suppliers.

The journalists' cooperation is especially essential now, when the various regions' labor collectives are arranging their long-term direct relations. It not only will help solve individual problems, but will also confirm yet again: Increasing quality is a common and national concern. Without a doubt, this matter will be brought up in the work of the forthcoming USSR Journalists Union Congress.

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CSO: 1800/426

LISSR CC PASSES RESOLUTION ON MASS INFORMATION MEDIA

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 9 Jan 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Lithuanian CP Central Committee"; first paragraph is boldface introduction]

[Text] The Lithuanian CP Central Committee adopted the decree "On the work of the party's Ionavskiy and Kayshyadorskiy raykoms on managing the mass information and propaganda media in light of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress."

It is noted in the decree that the party's Ionavskiy and Kayshyadorskiy raykoms, in carrying out the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, are increasing their attention to the activity of the mass information and propaganda media, and are investigating more deeply the content of rayon and large-circulation newspapers and the local radio news, and are undertaking definite measures aimed at increasing the role of the local press in expanding openness.

At the same time, there are serious deficiencies in the work of the local press and in its management on the part of party committees. Questions of raising the fighting spirit and effectiveness of the local newspapers and radio-broadcasting in the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress goals were not thoroughly analyzed at the plenums and meetings of the raykom buros. There were no reports from the editors and secretaries of the publications' party organization. In both rayons a precise system of informing journalists about the long-range and current activities of the party and soviet organizations and labor collectives, and about the basic directions of the present work has not been arranged. The secretaries of the raykoms and other leading workers of the rayon section write little for their newspapers, and rarely attend the planning sessions and party meetings at the editorial offices. Joint party meetings between the editorial offices and the party's raykoms and rayon ispolkoms are not organized. The party's raykoms and their secretaries do not offer enough help to the press organs to increase the effectiveness of the publications, and they do not make the leaders and secretaries of the party organizations strictly responsible for incorrect responses to, or for ignoring, criticism in the press.

Especially serious negligence on the part of the party leadership of the mass information and propaganda media was revealed in the Kayshyadorskiy rayon. Work with staff journalists is weakly organized there and does not show the proper concern for improving the conditions of their labor and life. Regular publication of the large-circulation newspaper OGNI by the administration of the Kayshyadorskiy pump storage electric power station construction project is not even continued. The editorial board of the rayon newspaper I KOMUNIZM lacks both the proper long-range and current planning and executive discipline, and as a result many issues of the newspaper are put together haphazardly. The spirit of the times is weakly felt in the newspaper; local life and labor politics do not find their necessary reflection. The newspaper publishes comparatively many superficial reports, accounts of the current affairs of the collectives, and extols individual achievements. There are few articles dealing with the fundamental problems and questions of restructuring the economic and social life, and insufficient attention is paid to the propaganda of advanced experience. Work with the nonstaff aktiv and workers' letters has been neglected; as a result, a fundamental part of the publications is made up of materials by the newspapers' permanent staff workers, a column of readers' letters appears irregularly, and a school for rural correspondents has not been organized.

The attention of the Lithuanian CP Kayshyadorskiy raykom was turned to the serious deficiencies in the management of the mass information and propaganda media, to their weak work in increasing openness, and to the intolerably irregular publication of the large-circulation newspaper OGNI by the administration of the Kayshyadorskiy pump storage electric power station construction project.

The party's Ionavskiy and Kayshyadorskiy raykoms must achieve a fundamental restructuring of the work of the local press and radio-broadcasting in the spirit of the demands and tasks of the 27th CPSU Congress. They must undertake effective measures for increasing their input into the realization of the party's economic and social policies, and make more extensive use of the press' abilities to influence the situation of things, to reflect clearly and convincingly the local life and the essence of the changes taking place, and to analyze thoroughly the problems of improving the style and methods of work of the party organizations and laboring collectives. The press can also serve to illuminate the advanced experience of the work on cost accounting, with the application of progressive forms of organization and payment of labor and of intensive technologies. It can disclose their significance in the realization of the Food Program and tasks of the twelfth Five-Year Plan, further the strengthening of discipline and order and the health of the moral atmosphere, and openly and skillfully discuss pointed questions.

The party committees need to implement concrete measures for improving the style and methods of work in the editorial offices in the spirit of the demands and tasks set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th Lithuanian CP Congress. They need to define their main directions, provide an increase in the level of longterm and current planning, and

create an environment of exactingness and creative competition in the collectives. The party's raykoms should systematically offer their publications concrete help in providing an increase in the effectiveness of the publications. They should regularly maintain problematic and critical materials, control the implementation of criticism, and make the guilty ones strictly responsible in cases of incorrect responses to or disregard of criticism.

The substance and methods of the activities of the editorial collectives' primary party organizations must be thoroughly and critically analyzed. They must increase their responsibility for the growth of the political, social, and creative activity of the publications' workers and for an effective solution to the tasks decreed by the party for the mass information and propaganda media.

The editorial offices must provide for a fundamental improvement in their work with the editorial mail. They must publish more letters from the workers and kolkhoz farmers, give concrete, comprehensive answers to the laborers' questions and regularly conduct readers' conferences, open letter days, and other popular measures. They must regulate the creative training of rural correspondents and spur on other organizational work to attract a broad circle of laborers to participate in the press.

It was suggested that the party's raykoms implement concrete measures for improving the selection, placement and training of journalism personnel and that they provide them with political and creative training. They also need to arrange a precise system for presenting journalists with information on the current and long-range activities of the party and soviet organs and labor collectives. At least once a quarter they should organize meetings between journalists and party, soviet, and other leading workers, and assure regular appearances in the local press of the rayon's leading workers and see that they participate in the party meetings and the editorial office's planning sessions. They should systematically implement other measures aimed at improving access to information for, competency, and professional growth of journalists. It was suggested that the administration board of the Lithuanian SSP Union of Journalists give more attention to increasing the creative activity and professional mastery of workers in the local press, and that they galvanize the work of the creative organizations and experienced journalists of the republic's publications for offering concrete help in the restructuring of the work of rayon and city newspapers.

The party committees, ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies, together with the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, and the newspaper-journal association "Periodika" should take decisive measures for strengthening the material and technical base of the local press, and for creating favorable working, living, and leisure conditions for its workers.

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

MOLDAVIAN CP BURO URGES IMPROVEMENTS IN SUPPLY OF CONSUMER GOODS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 8 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Moldavian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] At its regular meeting, the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro discussed the issue of collegium work of the Ministry of Grain Products to put a CPSU Central Committee resolution into effect "On the Unsatisfactory Fulfillment of CPSU Central Committee Decisions for Eradicating Fraud and Account-Padding by the Kirovgradskiy Obkom of the Ukrainian CP, the USSR Minavtoprom [Ministry of the Automotive Industry] and the Moldavian CP Central Committee," as well as Moldavian CP Central Committee Plenum resolutions. The decision adopted will be published in the press.

The question of additional measures for improving consumer supply of food products was considered jointly with the republic's Council of Ministers. The task of critically analyzing the state of affairs with regard to production of food products and organization of trade in every city and rayon of the republic has been set before city and rayon party committees, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, Gosagroprom, the Ministries of Grain Products and Trade, and the Moldavian Potrebsoyuz [Union of Consumers' Cooperatives]. Other tasks include taking concrete measures to eliminate shortfalls in the food supply, and strengthening organizational work to restructure economic and social activity at kolkhozes, sovkhoz plants, sovkhozes, inter-farm enterprises (associations), and enterprises, and in processing-industry organizations and trade, by using the potentialities of the new economic operations management system that is being implemented. Tasks also include expanding sales of potatoes, vegetables, fruits, grapes, and melons to consumer cooperatives and at kolkhoz markets by kolkhozes, sovkhoz plants, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises, and envisaging the development of subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations, as well as private subsidiary farms with the aim of improving the consumer supply everywhere of meat and dairy products, potatoes, fruits and vegetables, and other products, by as early as 1987.

Party and soviet organs of the republic's cities and rayons should consider the improvement in the consumer supply of food products as their most important political task.

The issue was discussed of increasing the production and improving the quality of goods for the population's pursuit of physical exercise, sports, and other leisure time activities [turizm]. It was emphasized at the meeting that physical exercise and sports are allotted an increased importance in the decision by the 27th CPSU Congress which set forth the tasks of improving the health of Soviet people and organizing their leisure time. Their future development, however, is checked to a significant degree by an inadequate consumer supply of goods for sports and leisure time pursuits. Many of them are deficit items. The shortfall in sporting goods for children and teen-agers is especially keenly felt.

Gosplan, and the Ministries of Light and Local Industry have been entrusted with ensuring an accelerated development of production and a significant increase in the output of high quality sporting goods in the 12th Five-Year Plan, in an effort to satisfy more fully consumer demand for them, having focused special attention on increasing the production of sports attire and footwear for children and teen-agers.

Party gorkoms and raykoms, and city and rayon soviets of people's deputies have been ordered to step up demands on economic managers for fulfilling production plans for sporting goods, staffing enterprises with qualified cadres, and incorporating advanced engineering and technology.

A report was reviewed of the work in 1986 of the Party Control Commission under the Moldavian CP Central Committee. It was noted that the Party Control Commission, guided by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Moldavian CP Congress, has enlivened its work aimed at reinforcing party order and intensifying the struggle against such negative phenomena as drunkenness and alcoholism, account-padding and fraud, and the extraction of unearned income; the commission has started to help party committees accomplish restructuring and carry out correct cadre policy.

At the same time, the Party Control Commission under the Moldavian CP Central Committee is inadequately putting into effect the means available for improving control work in restructuring and accelerating social and economic development; there have been no gains in reinforcing links and improving coordination of work with other socialist control organs, party committees, and their party commissions.

The Party Control Commission has been ordered to improve forms and methods of control work relentlessly, to focus major attention on raising the efficiency of checks made of the key problems of accelerating economic and social development, intensifying production, and putting into effect the complex and ever increasing tasks set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress, as well as to strengthen the links and improve the coordination of work with other control organs, to help party gorkoms and raykoms improve the work of party commissions, to generalize and disseminate their experience, to support worthy initiatives, and to teach chairmen and commission members the skill to organize work correctly.

The Central Committee Buro also considered several other questions.

GEORGIAN CP LEADERS DISCUSS ECONOMIC CHANGES

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Dec 86 p 1

[Gruzinform report: "In the Georgian CP Central Committee: On the Eve of Economic Changes"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] In the coming year, with the transfer to a new system of economic operation, a number of the republic's enterprises will enter a qualitatively new stage in their activity. For that reason, today, on the eve of profound economic changes, the struggle for strengthening planning and financial discipline, raising the quality of production, and restructuring thinking is becoming especially concrete and sharp. This is primarily because the preparatory period which was given to the labor collectives for mobilizing their forces and organizing their work in accordance with the newly appraised criteria, is coming to a close.

This was ascertained at the meeting of the Coordinational Soviet of the Georgian CP Central Committee on improving the economic mechanism and on transferring the enterprises to a new system of economic operation. The session examined the readiness of some of the republic's factories for working under conditions of broader rights and increased responsibility, and of full cost-accounting and state approval of production. They also discussed questions of the further spread in the Georgian SSR of the Poti experiment and the creation of a republic system of management over the activity of the inter-sectorial territorial-production associations of the ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies.

First Deputy Chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Z. A. Chkheidze, head of the Georgian republic administration of the USSR Gosstandart, D. L. Kartvelishvili, and First Deputy Chairman of the republic's Gosplan, B. D. Guluya, offered information of these questions.

Comrades V. I. Alavidze, B. V. Nikolskiy, and O. Ye. Cherkeziya spoke at the meeting.

First secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee D. I. Patiashvili gave the summation.

It was noted that the preparation for transferring to the new forms and methods of activity is not progressing smoothly everywhere. The introduction of full cost-accounting in the labor collectives involves a number of problems and difficulties. Some leaders have still not reformed their style and methods of managing labor collectives, and are working in the old way. They are not giving proper attention to questions dealing with the intensification of production.

The difficult situation which has arisen over the years in the Ministry of Light Industry seriously impedes that branch's shift to working in the new way. The republic's light industry is moving into the second year of the Five-Year Plan with a heavy load of problems. More than half of the enterprises were not able to cope with the profit plan; wasteful expenditures for the branch reached almost 18 million rubles. The republic's light industry owed the bank and suppliers more than 107 million rubles.

The situation in the Ministry of Local Industry and a few other ministries and republic departments is no better. The Ministry of the Timber and Woodprocessing Industry has begun to lag behind recently.

The unstable work of a number of branches and enterprises caused their difficult financial situation. This seriously undermines that basis on which the new methods of economic operation, which were to entail an accelerated increase in effectiveness and quality, should be founded.

Since the new year twelve of the republic's enterprises and associations have transferred to full cost-accounting, self-supporting production [samookupayemost], and self-financing. Those who spoke at the meeting said that this process is painful and complex. Its course is visibly marred by those problems which, until quite recently, were considered secondary, and which are now especially acute and demand an urgent solution. Among them is discipline in deliveries. It is chronically violated by the collectives of the Batum oil-refining plant, the KAZ, and a number of others.

The question of the leaders' responsibility for matters entrusted to them was again raised in this respect as a matter of principle. Not to ask for help from higher officials, and to bring order oneself to one's organization, to discover and skillfully make use of reserves--this is what is now demanded from the commanders of production. However, the administration of Kuttaisskiy motor vehicle plant continues in the old way to "shake loose" supplemental allocations from the branch in order to cover up its own errors in calculation. The following figures were introduced at the session: the above-standard surplus of commodity stocks which were not credited [neprokreditovannye] by the bank reached 50 million rubles, the debt exceeded 55 million rubles, the enterprise was practically deprived of its working capital. But, nevertheless, they are in no hurry there to stop producing a tractor model which is obsolete by all standards and to increase, in return, the production of universal diesel trailer trucks. The cost of production is significantly higher than planned. As far as quality is concerned, the following fact will testify to its level: as soon as the state approval board began to test the trailer truck, its quantitative output

dropped significantly. And it is not surprising--in the general construction of three cars 27 deviations from the standards were revealed.

The quality of products also remains problem number one at the Tbilisi production association "Stankostroitel." As at other enterprises, state inspection has gradually been introduced in this association. But just the other day the first machine unit was shown to the state inspectors. The result was lamentable--72 complaints on the part of non-departmental control!

At the same time, in those places where the importance of restructuring was realized, their achievements and problems had been analyzed beforehand. Order was introduced at every working place and discipline was strengthened; there were no failures in the introduction of the new economic mechanism. The "Fiftieth Anniversary of the USSR" production association in Tbilisi can serve as an example of this type of approach. A precise system of internal-production planning was developed and introduced here ahead of time, taking into account practically all positions, right up to the time of carrying out the orders of the factories producing intermediate goods. The precise work did not delay in bringing its fruits--the profit plan in the association was fulfilled at 105 percent.

The participants at the session stressed that the transfer to the new conditions of economic operation demands maximum effort on the part of the party organization and each communist. All measures must be taken to ensure that the economic innovations take no one by surprise, and that they be carried out persistently and properly. A thoughtful and thorough preparation, counsel with people, and an in-depth explanation in the collectives of the essence, goal, and significance of the changes taking place are therefore extremely important.

The local soviets of people's deputies were also called upon to speak their word, as the ones who should materially spur on the work in accordance with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Council of Ministers USSR "On the measures for the further increase in the role and for strengthening the responsibility of the soviets of people's deputies for accelerating the social-economic development in light of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress."

Since January 1 a qualitatively new stage of work has begun for many of the republic's enterprises and associations. Everyone should assist in the implementation of the new system of economic operation: from the worker to the minister, from the party secretary to the rank-and-file communist. In this there is a guarantee of acceleration, or restructuring.

B. A. Malkov, executive of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the work of the Coordinational Soviet's meeting.

13174/7687
CSO: 1830/304

KOLBIN CHAIRS SESSION ON FIGHT AGAINST CRIME

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 87 p 1

[Article: "Not to Rest on Our Laurels" under the rubric "Preparations for the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] G.V. Kolbin, First Secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee chaired an expanded meeting of the coordinating soviet for the struggle with crime, alcoholism, and unearned income. Participating in the meeting were representatives of oblast ispolkoms, secretaries and leaders of departments of administrative organs and oblast party committees, and chiefs of oblast internal affairs directorates. Summaries of work done last month in the republic were reviewed, and tasks were assigned for the upcoming period.

The soviet noted that party, soviet, and justice organs with the help of the public at large had achieved definite results in the struggle with antisocial behavior. Thus, in January the number of felonies decreased by 18 percent, including a decrease on the books by 20 percent. This was significantly lower than for the corresponding period last year for theft of state and private property, armed robbery, robbery, incidents of hooliganism, and juvenile offenses. For the republic as a whole more than one thousand idlers have been identified and isolated, and numerous alcoholics and drug addicts have been placed in treatment facilities.

The struggle for eradicating crime, however, is not being conducted with the appropriate resolution in all locations. There was quite a bit of criminal activity in the Pavlodarskaya and Dzhambul'skaya Oblasts. Many crimes were committed in public places in the Karagandinskaya, Kokchetav'skaya, Tselinograd'skaya, Taldy-Kurgan'skaya, Chimkent'skaya, and Aktyubinskaya Oblasts. In the Uralskaya, Semipalatinskaya, and a number of other oblasts, as analysis shows, more than half of the crimes were committed by persons under the influence of alcohol.

In the struggle with anti-social elements it is essential to use the force of law effectively, particularly the edict recently adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet concerning strengthening the accountability for theft of personal property, robbery, and armed robbery. Judicial and procurator organs must actively look at criminal cases connected with robbery of apartments, and must afford this material the broadest publicity in the mass media.

There is still some slackness in complying with the demands of the republic coordinating soviet for immediate discussion in the ispolkoms and the Soviets of People's Deputies of each case of infringement on citizens' private property. They are not looking deep enough into the facts and circumstances surrounding each case of theft. They have to look seriously to securing attics and cellars of premises, of public entrances and the yards of domiciles, to organizing repair services for entrance doors, to installing domestic intercoms, and other protective equipment. It is essential for the struggle against apartment theft to make wider use of mobile groups, building and street committees, yard-keepers, pensioners, taxi drivers equipped with radiotelephones, and to work out a system for quick response when signals are received from them.

A decisive turning point has yet to be reached in the struggle with drunkenness and alcoholism, although in January in the republic the number of those committed to medical facilities decreased by 18,500 persons, that is by 23 percent. Some party organizations continue to tolerate cases of alcohol abuse by officials. Thus, the chief of the traffic safety department of the "Transselkhozkhimiya" enterprise, Syrba, was arrested for drunken driving, and nevertheless the enterprise's collective interceded for him with the GAI [State Automobile Inspectorate]. The Arkalykskiy city party committee, having received material stating that the director of the "Turgayvodstroy" Vehicle Base, Kulinich, had organized a drinking party, turned the case over to the trust for review, and the trust in turn to this very Kulinich. Such occurrences cannot be tolerated.

It is essential to increase the practice of using manual labor to work off the fines of persons who were given administrative punishment for violations of the anti-alcohol laws. Some people are not treating this matter seriously. During January only an insignificant part of the violators were working off penalties. Out of 445,000 rubles in fines levied, a mere 279,000 was collected.

It is also necessary to activate the work on the "clandestine businessmen" [podsnezhniki] phenomenon. For January, 4,255 such persons were identified, with monthly salary allocations totaling 526,000 rubles. Managers found to be in violation of financial and manning discipline forfeited more than 90,000 rubles to make up for their deficits. But in the republic there are still many who prefer to live at the expense of the production collectives, at the expense of the working population. Decisive work on rooting-out of such clandestine workers must claim the attention of party and soviet organs of all oblasts, cities, and rayons on a daily basis.

We have to improve everywhere the coordination of forces controlling those organizations which are directed against unearned income. Facts are slowly coming to light of embezzlement of public property, speculation, and bribery. Just recently checks which were conducted revealed that there are a large number of privately-owned cattle grazing in with the publicly-owned herds (13,000 cattle, 180,000 sheep and goats, 7,000 horses and cattle). The overall damage amounts to almost one-half million rubles. Among the owners of these cattle, some 732 are members of the CPSU or managers. However the

matter of their party accountability has been established only in 32 cases, and criminal charges have been brought against only 19 of them. There are many cases where the privately-owned cattle were returned to the public herd immediately following the inspection.

Serious violations have been found in the system for state and cooperative trade, primarily in the sale of scarce commodities. Thus, over several years the Kazpotrebsoyuz [Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives] procurement and sales bases of various types have by orders sold indian tea in metal cans at an inflated price, although this tea was intended to be used to stimulate sales to the state of agricultural products by the populace. For this reason the plan for procurement fell short by almost four million rubles. A criminal case has been generated by the fact of this crime.

A number of other matters were pointedly discussed at a meeting of the coordinating soviet. Named, for example, were those facts pertinent to illegal possession of firearms. A check showed that it is common that such arms are obtained through connections or through abuse of a service position. The republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has been tasked to begin confiscating firearms from the populace and in cases where they refuse to give them up, to hold them to strict criminal and administrative accountability.

The ministry was also tasked to reinforce the external patrol service in populated areas with the participation of the officer cadre and local volunteers. The matter is such that the militia is to do all that will make February and March free from vagrants, parasites, and alcoholics throughout the republic, and to protect the legal interests reliably of our citizens who are engaged in constructive work.

The basic responsibility has been laid on the political organs of the MVD, which have been tasked to develop in each militiaman a high level of personal culture, an honest and conscientious attitude toward completing his service tasks, devotion to duty by the party and the people, as is demanded in the January, 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Participating in the soviet was the sector chief of the Organizational Party Work Department of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, N. F. Mishchenko.

9016

CSO: 1830/363

TAJIK CP BURO RAPS LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS FOR LAXNESS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 26 Dec 86 p 1

[Article: "In the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro met on 24 December in regular session and discussed the operation of the Tadzhikpotrebsoyuz [Tajik Union of Consumers Cooperatives] management in strengthening discipline and combatting misappropriations and other crimes and abuses. The Central Committee Buro noted that in the system of consumers cooperative societies these issues are not being resolved unilaterally and are not being given the required principled evaluation. Waste, misappropriation, theft, fires, harm to material value and large unproductive losses significantly damage the consumers cooperative system. Accounting, bookkeeping, inventory and inspection are not improving.

In discussing the issues of further strengthening socialist legality, law and order and of reinforcing the preservation of citizens rights and legal interests, the Central Committee Buro ascertained that a sense of high responsibility for putting each labor collective in needed order and for strengthening socialist legality, the preservation of the constitutional rights and legal interests of citizens and the strict observation of the principles of social justice, has yet to penetrate the party, state and economic organs and the public organizations. Violations of labor legislation are quite widespread in the republic. Many violations of the established order are tolerated in housing allocation and also in resolving various issues affecting the vital interests of people.

The fact that individual workers in the law enforcement organs permit prejudice and a tendentious approach when conducting an inquiry, preliminary investigation and court investigation and allow red tape, callousness and a soulless attitude towards people's fates is especially intolerable. The scandalous incidents of unjustified detentions and arrests and of unlawful criminal and administrative proceedings against citizens cause serious concern.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the boards and leaders of the TaSSR Procurator's Office, the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice and the republic Supreme Court often display liberalism towards violators of socialist legality and do not take measures towards fundamentally restructuring

the operation of law enforcement organs or towards increasing the demands on cadres for irreproachable fulfillment of their official duty. The professional training of associates does not receive necessary attention. The party organizations of the indicated organs do not make communists, particularly the leading cadres, acutely and severely responsible for their personal contribution to realizing the restructuring process. The party committees establish control over the activities of law enforcement organs in a very inadequate fashion.

The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms are commissioned to increase supervision of the activities of law enforcement organs, to display a continuous concern for widening and strengthening the ties between law enforcement organs and the public and for creating an atmosphere of respect and encouragement around them, and to reinforce openness in the activities of the law enforcement organs.

In cooperation with the republic Procurator's Office, the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice, the Supreme Court and the republic Academy of Sciences, the Minvuz [Ministry of Higher Education] is commissioned to outline effective measures directed at improving the quality of student training in the Law Department at the Tajik State University imeni V. I. Lenin and at strengthening the tie between juridical science and practice.

The Central committee Buro approved a comprehensive plan of internationalist and atheist education of the republic population in light of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress. The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions and Communist Youth organs, the ideological establishments and the republic ministries and departments are ordered to develop long term measures for restructuring the international, patriotic and atheist education and for raising its effectiveness in light of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and to provide due control over their actualization.

The session of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro also examined a number of other questions concerning party work and the social and economic life of the republic.

12982/12851
CSO: 1830/316

UZBEK CP BURO ON TRANSPORTATION MINISTRY, COTTON HARVEST PROBLEMS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Dec 86 p 1

[Article: "In the Buro of the Central Committee of Uzbek CP"]

[Text] On 24 December, the Buro of the Central Committee of Uzbek CP conducted its regular meeting. The Buro members discussed problems of selection, placement and training of personnel as these tasks are realized by the Uzbek Ministry of Motor Transportation. The Buro decided that the Ministry's performance does not meet the standards required by the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The top executives in this sector do a very superficial job in selecting the personnel. They do not present the applicants for proper consideration at party or staff meetings. As a result important positions are often filled by inadequately trained persons who lack any initiative or talent for organization. Half of the Ministry staff experts have not had the necessary special training. At present, every 5th nomenclatura position is either vacant or taken by an official who has not been approved at the collegium. Persons who failed an assignment or compromised themselves at their previous jobs sometimes are transferred to another post. Inadequate attention is paid to promoting young professionals, women or workers who displayed organizational skills. There is no effective personnel reserve; job evaluations and probation terms are treated as unimportant. Insufficient effort is given to upgraded ideological and professional training.

The Buro noted that the Ministry, in its ways and means, is not in line with the demands of the present day. Work of management is dominated by armchair strategy, pontificating, and red tape.

Primary party organizations of the Ministry and its departments fail to realize fully their power of control over staff and administration.

The abovementioned shortcomings impede development of the sector and become one of the main reasons for irregular performance in motor transportation. For the period from January to November, 1986, main technical and economic indicators were not reached. The growth rate for labor productivity stayed below the target level. Plans for implementing achievements of technical and scientific

progress never got off the ground; no development was evident in capital investments meant to expand production resources and to improve working conditions.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the Uzbek CP passed a resolution which demands that the party organization and top officials of the Ministry take comprehensive measures to eliminate the noted shortcomings. They should also ensure unconditional execution of the tasks set before this important sector of the Uzbek economy.

The Buro also discussed erroneous actions of a number of administrators. They decided to enlist the services of school and college students for cotton harvesting in 1986. The Buro noted that in a number of locations administrators ignored the decision of the Central Committee of the Uzbek CP. As a result they greatly distorted specific schedules for students' farm work and failed to provide normal working and living conditions for the students. All that was made possible with the connivance of party committees and local authorities. Irresponsibility in that respect was particularly evident in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, and the Dzhizak and Kashka-Darya Oblasts.

The Buro demanded that the respective Ministries and departments, obkoms and oblispolkoms introduce proper order in this matter. The Buro also warned certain administrators that in the future the abovementioned shortfalls would not be tolerated.

The Buro heard a report on serious shortfalls in the work of the All-Union Scientific and Technological Association "Soyuzkhlopok." It was noted that the executives and party committee failed to arrive at a proper decision about the necessity to restructure completely the organization of scientific research. They proved incapable of involving employees in the process of solving problems that were most critical for the development of cotton-growing.

Within the last few years the Association "Soyuzkhlopok" did not produce a single significant project concerning pressing problems of cotton-plant cultivation. Only six out of thirty-seven projects, completed during the previous 5-year period, were implemented in Uzbek kolkhozes and sovkhozes. A considerable amount of research work is conducted at low levels. Newly created types of cotton crops do not have required characteristics and properties. The Academic Council committed serious errors in its work. Training of specialists is conducted at a low level. The General Manager of the Association, Academician A. Imamaliyev, chose to keep away from organizing the research work. He was incapable of making any criticism when evaluating work in progress. He also readily accepted an atmosphere of self-praise and sham efficiency.

The party organization failed to use its full authority in order to eliminate the abovementioned serious shortfalls. The party committee of the Association failed to hold the administration responsible for poor performance. It does not provide honest evaluation of communists who hinder completion of scientific and technical plans. It displays undue tolerance toward wasteful expenditures of funds allocated for research.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the Uzbek CP decided to relieve General Manager A. Imamaliev of his post. It also noted that the buro of Ordzhonikidze had severely reprimanded him and entered a warning in his CPSU registration form.

The Buro urged the Ordzhonikidze raykom and party committee to devise and realize measures meant to improve the state of things drastically, to strengthen morale and normalize the psychological atmosphere. They should involve communists and the entire staff in an effort to raise the scientific level of research which is being conducted and to accelerate scientific and technological progress in cotton-growing.

The Buro praised the methods displayed by the Naryn raykom, Namangan Oblast, in electing field team-leaders in local kolkhozes. The departments of the Central Committee will publish their letter in regard to this experience.

The Buro discussed and passed resolutions on several other problems of party work and economic and social development of the republic.

13329/12851
CSO: 1830/302

JUBILEE SELECTION OF IZVESTIYA LETTERS SINCE 1917

PM191409 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 March 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 2-3 a feature pegged to the newspaper's 70th anniversary entitled "About the Times and Ourselves: Readers' Letters Over 70 Years." All contributions are listed in sequence.

An editorial introduction reads in full as follows:

"The first issue of IZVESTIYA appeared 2 days after the autocracy was overthrown--28 February (13 March) 1917. IZVESTIYA is 70 years old.

"We say that the history of the newspaper is the history of the country. We will try to flesh this out with facts, just a few of the facts which we, irrespective of when we joined IZVESTIYA's editorial offices, always remember.

"During the fighting in October 1917 the newspaper's editorial office was located in the Smolnyy Institute (Room 14, on the second floor).

"Entries under the letter 'I' in V.I. Lenin's address book began with IZVESTIYA's telephone number and address in Petrograd.

"V.I. Lenin not only wrote to IZVESTIYA he also prompted topics, gave advice, and helped as much as he could. During the anxious time of the Socialist Revolutionary revolt in Moscow Lenin sent a basket of bread and canned food to staffers on IZVESTIYA who had worked throughout the night.

"Let us be carried back through the years.

"There is a memorial plaque in IZVESTIYA's lobby which bears the names of journalists who did not return to the newspaper from the front after the Great Patriotic War. The places where they spent their last assignments are well known: Sergey Galyshev was at Sevastopol, Aleksandr Kuznetsov at Poltava, Pavel Troshkin on the road to Lvov, Mikhail Suvinskiy south of....

"This rollcall of facts shows that the country and the newspaper have experienced the same things and shared a common fate could be extended.

"Let us admit that there was a great temptation on the newspaper's 70th anniversary to talk about the people whose labor and talent created it. And no one would have reproached us for that: The names of many IZVESTIYA workers rightly belong to history. Nevertheless, after long reflection, we chose a different approach for this issue. We would let the readers themselves --through their letters to the editorial office--rather than professional journalists, speak about the 7 decades the newspaper has gone through.

"The idea seems simple, but it was not so easy in practice. The first problem was how to fit into one-and-a-half to two newspaper pages what had been written over 70 years? The second was whether the letters would--out of context--be intelligible? Particularly as they sometimes destroy our standard notions of how things were, the picture in them of the breaking up of the old world and the birth and establishment of the new appears considerably more dramatic than in the latest history textbooks. We also realized that it was not possible by any means to discuss everything at the time.

"Thus the history of the country, which is celebrating its 70th anniversary this year, as presented in these letters, makes no pretensions to completeness, finality, or strict chronological sequence, with every year represented. These are just lines from a biography. They cannot--we are certain--fail to move, since all of it happened to us.... The letters contain the spirit of the time, the joy of victories hard won, objective reality and the daily round, the heroic side by side with the humorous, just as it is in life.

"We print the letters as they were published in the newspaper, permitting ourselves minor abridgements in just a few places.

"The last letter, dated March 1987, is fresh from the editorial mailbag."

The opening letter, dated 27 October 1917 and headed "Resolution of the General Assembly of Workers at the 'Treugolnik' Company," expresses the workers' support to the Soviets of Worker, Soldier, and Peasant Deputies.

A letter dated 7 November 1917, headed "Delegate's Letter From the Front Line" and sent by Yeger Ye. Kolosov, praises comrade soldiers and workers for disposing of Kerenskiy and Kornilov and condemns the capitalists who tried unsuccessfully to pit soldiers against workers, and workers against peasants.

A letter dated 7 November 1917 and headed "Resolution Adopted by a Guards Detachment of the Moscow Okrug Commissariat for Military Affairs," complains that the disparity between the salaries of commissars and Red Army men is a neglected issue, pointing out that "increasing commissars' salaries on the one hand and lowering Red Army men's salaries on the other creates classes" and that "commissars and commanders, by earning more than Red Army men, involuntarily become part of the opposition to Soviet power, supporting speculation and all kinds of crime, which could be eliminated if all salaries were leveled out."

A letter dated 26 March 1919, headed "From the Recent Past" and signed "An Old Worker," recounts the fate of workers in cities of the Volga region at the hands of supporters of the Constituent Assembly. He speaks, for example, of the "nightmarish horrors" suffered when 1,500 workers in Samara were shot on a single day.

An extract from a letter dated 4 January 1920 sent by Division Commander Dybenko and headed "Before the Taking of Tsaritsyn" describes the Red Army's victorious advance to Tsaritsyn and praises the soldiers' qualities, describing in particular one very hard-fought battle from which they emerged triumphant despite numerically far superior White Guard forces.

The bottom of page 2 carries two photographs from IZVESTIYA's archives: One shows the first tractor produced in Stalingrad, surrounded by a crowd of people; the second shows a weary soldier with a piece of field artillery behind him and is captioned "The Highways and Byways of the Great Patriotic War."

Page 3 begins with a letter dated 10 September 1920 sent in by G. Bergman and headed "Electric Swallows" which notes the fast pace at which new power stations are being built under "unprecedentedly difficult conditions."

The next letter reads as follows:

"21 December 1924

"Letter to the Editor

"Vladimir Il'ich's death has dealt a heavy blow to the cause of the revolution. This colossal loss can be made up only by combining and uniting all revolutionary forces. Aware that it is now more necessary than ever before that maximum energy be shown in the struggle to free labor, I, in submitting my application to join the Russian Communist Party, urge all my comrade anarchists who sincerely cherish the cause of revolution to join me beneath the Russian Communist Party's banner.

"N. Dolenko (M. Chekeres), former anarcho-syndicalist."

The following letter is also quoted in full:

"25 January 1930

"Administrative Coercion Instead of Mass Work

"The practice of complete collectivization in some villages in Kuznetsk Okrug's Shcheglovskiy Rayon shows arbitrariness in relation to basic poor and middle peasant farms. In the village of Berezovoy the 'Krasnaya Pyatiletka' Commune Soviet imposed a special tax on a number of poor peasant farms. The peasants had to contribute their surplus gain to the commune, and the surplus grain figure was overstated several times over. The commune soviet distrained the peasants' farms, earmarked them for sale, and so forth.

"At a peasant assembly in the same village representatives of the rayispokom 'agitated' in favor of collectivization as follows: Those who have not joined the collective or commune by 26 December will be relocated outside the okrug and have their property seized. In another place the party cell proposes the following resolution: 'Such peasants are to be boycotted for not having joined collectives.' Only poor and middle peasants are entered on these lists.

"The bureau of the Kuznetsk Okrug Party Committee has recognized that the line adopted by the rayon party committee and the 'practice' of rural party cells in implanting collectives from above was incorrect, but the question arises of what the okrug organizations were doing before, when they failed to notice all the outrages being committed in the region.

"Z.R."

In a letter dated 10 August 1936 and headed "Letter From Fetinya Andreyevna" the writer describes to her mother how well and settled her family is on the island of Udd, on the River Amur, and relates the events on the day Soviet fliers landed there after completing a non-stop 56-hour flight to Udd from Moscow.

The next letter reads:

"24 June 1941

"Hearken, My Native Land

"Hearken, my native land and dear father, great Stalin! The motherland's order to repulse the fascist scum has been received by us, as by the entire Red Army of Workers and Peasants, as an order to be executed without fail. We are pleased to be able to share with you our first combat achievements.

"This morning our antiaircraft crew took up combat station. Shortly Red Army observer Aloyan spotted the enemy approaching. Sergeant Tikhonov, the crew commander, gave the order to open fire. Of the three fascist planes in our zone two were immediately downed by accurate machinegun fire, the third was destroyed by a neighboring crew.

"We promise you, our beloved country and dear Comrade Stalin, that we will continue to smash the enemy wherever he dare show himself.

"Red Army men Aloyan, Belshibayev, Lavrenyuk, Fisenko, Vereshchak, and Tokarev

"Army in the Field.

"Western Border."

The next letter is as follows:

"4 July 1941

"I Go To Defend My Fatherland

"Yesterday I submitted my application for enrolment as a volunteer in the people's army in order to destroy fascism.

"I am gripped by the same feelings of patriotism and love for the motherland that now swell the hearts of millions of Soviet people. These feelings are expressed in a fervent desire to defend our fatherland from the hated enemy and to destroy utterly the fascist vermin.

"I go to defend my country and am ready, risking life and sparing no effort, to execute any assignment I may be given. And if it is necessary at any time, whether with gun in hand or by means of my sharpened creative pen--I will give my all to defend our great motherland, destroy the enemy, and achieve victory.

"Our 200 million-strong people is sweeping forward like a mighty avalanche to mount a crushing assault. This might will descend on the fascist horde and crush it.

"D. Shostakovich, composer and holder of the Stalin prize,

"Leningrad"

A letter dated 1 March 1942 and headed "Message to the Mother of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya" sings the praises of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, who set an "unparalleled example of heroism." The message is signed by 44 women from Chkalov Oblast.

The next letter, which is dated 22 December 1942, headed "We Are Helping the Red Army," and sent by kolkhoz member Chorgodzhanybayev, lauds the help Soviet power and the Communist Party has given the Kirghizian people and donates R50,000 from the Aral-Kochkorskiy Rayon Kolkhoz to build a tank column.

The next letter by Academician A. Bakh, dated 9 Mar 1945 and headed "The Peoples' Joy," says that "Germany has deserved its ignominy" and expresses his firm belief that his government will do its utmost to set up an international organization to safeguard against aggression and fascism.

The next letter reads:

"30 June 1949

"In Search of a Scythe

"The stores of the Spas-demenskiy Rayon consumer cooperative had no scythes for sale although harvesting time had arrived. This was the subject of much discussion at an expanded session of the rayispolkom at the beginning of June.

"When my fellow-villagers learned that I was going to Moscow, they gave me the task of buying 50 hand scythes. I refused, saying that there would be no scythes to be found in the capital, but took the money nevertheless.

Imagine how great my surprise was then when I saw enormous stocks of scythes at the Moscow Gorispolkom's agricultural supplies warehouse. I asked Comrade Gulyanov, the warehouse manager, to issue me with 50 scythes.

"Stand in line. We sell one scythe and rake per person."

"I expressed my bewilderment:

"I need 50 scythes for my fellow kolkhoz members. Surely I don't have to stand in line 50 times!?"

"Back came the unruffled reply:

"That's your business, and we don't give bills of sale...."

"Of course, I got the scythes. I also got the appropriate piece of paper. But there is another thing that worries me: How could it happen that there are goods not required by the city lying in the agricultural supply warehouse, whereas there are none in the countryside, where they are particularly needed.

"Do the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Agriculture know about this?

"M. Shcherbakov, veterinary assistant.

"Spas-demenskiy Rayon's 'Krasnyye Klyuchi' Kolkhoz, Kaluga Oblast"

The next letter dated 8 March 1955 and headed "Come and Join Us in the Virgin Lands" is signed by 10 young women from Kustanay Oblast's "Urnek" Kolkhoz. The letter describes conditions in the remote virgin-land territories of Kazakhstan and concludes with the appeal: "Young women of the cities and villages come to Kazakhstan! Here you will be able to apply your knowledge, experience, and abilities."

The next letter reads:

"5 July 1956

"Strengthening the Motherland's Might

"The CPSU Central Committee Resolution on overcoming the cult of personality and its consequences is being received with profound approval by the Soviet people. The Central Committee has truthfully and objectively pointed out the causes giving rise to the cult of the personality and its adverse consequences at a certain historical stage.

"We ordinary people can see the enormous work now being carried out by our party's Central Committee to intensify its links with the broad masses. The party and government are strengthening the socialist rule of law and developing true democracy. Much has changed in the Soviet people's lives in the last 3 years. I am able to judge this by my own plant. Never before have workers meetings been so active. People are boldly revealing work shortcomings.

"The growth in the numbers of rationalizers is evidence of the growing activity of the masses. In our shop, for example, every other worker is a rationalizer. Everyone seeks to make his contribution to the common cause of building a communist society.

"Our enemies in capitalist countries are vilifying the Soviet Union and seeking to distort the Communist Party's policy. But no matter how hard the slanderers try, they will not shake the faith of the peoples of the world in the mighty Soviet Union.

"Before the eyes of us all our party is resolutely eliminating the consequences of the cult of the personality. Herein lies the strength of the Soviet people engaged in building a Communist society. And we will strengthen still further the might of our motherland and the might of the entire socialist camp.

"A. Kuzmichev, worker at the Gorkovskiy Machine Tool Plant."

The following letter reads:

"13 September 1959

"A Cherished Dream

"Far from Riga, alongside the railroad track, lies hidden the small Latvian town of Yaunburtniyeki. But the news of the launching of a second Soviet rocket to the moon quickly reached here. This is new evidence of the power and might of our beloved motherland, demonstrating to the whole world what the free, peace-loving Soviet people are capable of doing.

"Here, as in every other corner of the land of the Soviets, people think and talk a great deal about N.S. Khrushchev's visit to the United States. They associate that trip with their cherished dream of peace and the ending of the cold war. The thoughts of peace which inspire the whole Soviet people are especially dear to those of us whose vocation it is to teach and educate people. After all, we bring up children for the purpose of happiness and creation, not for sorrow and destruction.

"My native Latvia has for many centuries stood at the crossroads of the military routes of Europe, devastating wars have raged over it time and again, and the laboring people have groaned beneath the enslavers' yoke. Only Soviet power has given us a peaceful life.

"Ayna Yansone, teacher at Yaunburtniyeki School, Valmiyerskiy Rayon, Latvian SSR."

A one-paragraph letter sent by Hero of Socialist Labor M. Yefremov, dated 12 April 1961 and headed "No Fairy Tale," expresses the 80-year-old's joy at man and, moreover, a Soviet man, in space.

A very short letter dated 18 April 1961 headed "Pioneers" sent by P. Zakharov claims there would be no man in space without the revolution.

The next letter dated 4 August 1975 and headed "Ask Your Mother" sent by kolkhoz member Ye. Ugarova from Saratov Oblast's Engelskiy Rayon begins:

"The third and concluding stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has ended. How many hopes and aspirations the people of the world are pinning on this exceptionally important historic event!

"We listened to L.I. Brezhnev's speech with enormous interest. He said that the peace proposals worked out by the conference participants serve the interests of all people, irrespective of their occupation, nationality, or age."

This "ordinary kolkhoz member, Russian woman, mother of three children and grandmother" then speaks about the horrors of World War II and says that "the turn from the cold war toward a course of peaceful coexistence cannot fail to gladden and move us. There is now a realistic and firm hope that neither we nor our grandchildren will ever again know war."

Next comes a homely letter dated 1 October 1984 and entitled "BAM Is Complete" by plasterer and painter L. Golubkova in which she speaks of all the benefits that the Baykal-amur Mainline has brought her remote settlement of Taksimo.

A letter dated 3 March 1986 headed "The Wings of Progress" by lathe operator Yu. Karekin from Leningrad comments favorably on the results of that year's party congress, with its emphasis on the need for acceleration and intensification.

The final letter, dated March 1987 and headed "Honesty in Everything," is sent by sovkhos machine operator V. Terekhov and stresses that restructuring must be more than just "another campaign" and that the necessary changes will not come overnight and require persistent effort.

The bottom of the page features two photographs: The first of Yuriy Gagarin with his mother; the second, the final linkup of BAM.

/6662

CSO: 1800/470

SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA VIEWED AS ISLAMIC PROPAGANDA TARGET

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 5 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Kh. Saidov, instructor, Scientific Communism Dept., Tajik State University imeni V.I. Lenin, under the heading: "Aids for Atheist Lecturers": "What are the 'Prophets' Preaching About?"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Quite often after delivering a lecture I have heard the question, "How should one understand the conception of 'Islamic socialism'?" Numerous related questions are asked as well. It was in this connection that the present methodological article was written and is offered to the readers.

In recent times Islamic slogans and Muslim social ideas are being actively exploited in the world by various political forces. If one singles out the main points from all of this stir, it becomes obvious that predominant interest is given to one single question: whom does Islam serve? The fact of the matter is that in a number of countries in Asia and Africa even the most progressive governments make use of the Islamic religion in politics. For an example of this, as they say, you don't have to go far. We have close at hand the friendly nation of Afghanistan, where religion has a significant influence on the social changes taking place in the country and on the ideological struggle. This must be dealt with, for one cannot take an arbitrary decision to destroy at one blow a way of life which evolved over the centuries.

It was precisely on this basis that a rather widespread tendency has taken shape to idealize Islam as a teaching which allegedly indicates a special path to development to the Muslim peoples--the so-called conception of a third path, or "Islamic socialism." However, similar attention on the part of bourgeois ideologists is hardly dictated by concern for the fate of the working people who profess Islam, but by alarm brought on by the growth of popularity of Marxist-Leninist teachings in the developing countries. The enemies of democratic and progressive changes and the out-and-out obscurantists in the counterrevolutionary sense are forced to somehow withstand revolutionary theory itself. And so they have turned to the Islamic nations with an appeal which for the sake of brevity can be formulated as, "Why do you need Marxism when you have Islam?"

At the present time practically all bourgeois ideological "schools" consider the appeal to religion to be an effective anticommunist weapon in the political struggle. Such an approach may vary depending upon the circumstances, or

the time and place of action, but for the most part three variations predominate: a) total absolutization of religious traditions and customs; b) utilizing religion as a form of expression of nationalistic ideas in official ideology; and c) turning to religion as the most important means of involving the masses in the struggle for the realization of secular bourgeois nationalistic conceptions.

In the words of religious figure M. Kutba, "Communism is in conflict with both the theory and the practice of Islam." In unison with him another Muslim "prophet," Khalifa Abdul Khakim, in his book "Islam and Communism," writes of the unsuitability of socialism for the Islamic peoples. Thus, they declare that scientific communism is a "foreign doctrine," or a "European teaching," and at the same time declare the Soviet Union an enemy of the entire Muslim world. In their fabrications they are, of course, counting upon the illiteracy of a certain portion of the populace of Muslim countries, and their adherence to religious beliefs. At the same time religious ideologists do not take the trouble to construct systems of proof, and have become like the reactionary clergy, which, as is well-known, is used to demanding of the believers unquestioning, blind faith in Islamic dogma.

The objects of the massed cerebral attacks of the sovietologists who follow the clerical profession are the Soviet Central Asian republics. Unceremoniously interfering in our internal affairs, they strive to accumulate at all costs "proofs" which might confirm the veracity of the conceptions which they have worked out.

And that is how Al Mansuriya Khalim Akhmad Khamidi, former chief the Islamic Education Administration, is acting. The object of his study is the situation among the Muslims in our country, and specifically in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Incidentally, he prefers to call them "Russian Turkestan." In his book, "In the Red Haze" (Lahor, 1981), he holds up to meticulous analysis the policy of the Communist Party with respect to the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kirghiz, Turkmens, and representatives of the small nations and national minorities.

For the purpose of illustrating this credo, permit me to say, it is sufficient to cite the title of one of the chapters: "Russian Turkestan in the Period of Socialist Tyranny." The book also has a chapter dedicated to Tadzhikistan. In it the author informs the credulous reader that in our republic all mosques have long been closed, and openly performing namaz [Muslim prayer] subjects the believer to a large monetary fine (p 65). Therefore, the author argues, here only those who have money in their pocket may pray. At the same time the pseudo-scholar did not manage to cite the "veracity" of the sources from which he gleaned these facts.

And here you have a vivid example of how similar works are produced, which by the way are then utilized by various radio-voices in subversive activities against the socialist countries. Upon acquaintance with the given opus, the feeling arises that one has already read all of these fabrications somewhere. In actual fact, the West in recent years has made a point of fishing out works reeking of mothballs from grandmother's trunk of ideological nostrums, and putting them into circulation. Thus books written many

years ago by those who betrayed the Motherland: "Turkestan Under Soviet Rule," (Paris, 1935); "New Turkestan and its Recent History" (Istanbul, 1947); "Islam in Turkestan" (Munich, 1960); and others. And so Kh.A. Khamidi has walked a well-trodden path, and his work is nothing else than a rehash of inveterate antisoviet ravings.

Faced with the danger of the spread of Marxist-Leninist teachings, the zealous servants of Islam are ready to agree to anything, if only to prevent ideas--which are from their point of view harmful--from entering the consciousness of the Muslims. Therefore, in the West in recent years one more and more often hears appeals to both Christians and Muslims to band together in the face of the "communist threat." West German ideologist Kenneth Gregg in particular declares, that "This common task requires us to strengthen our ties and increase cooperation between Christianity and Islam." This convergence, in the mind of the author, must of course take place on an anti-soviet, anti-socialist basis.

This postulate once again confirms that bourgeois ideologists, manipulating the emotions of the believers, are not in the least concerned for their interests--nor, by the way, for religion as a whole. In their activities one can see a very definite purpose--to separate the working Muslims from the teachings of Marx and Lenin, and to serve up to them in exchange a surrogate from Islamic dogma, mixed pell-mell with the main ideas of the latest revelations of Muslim "prophets."

The well-known professional sovietologist (more aptly, in my view, anti-sovietologist) R. Harody, for example, in a series of lectures on "Islam and Socialism," asserts that the Muslim faith of itself already provides them a certain kind of socialism. In other words, those who profess Islam have no need to study the experience of building socialism in other countries nor to borrow alien doctrines, inasmuch as this experience has its own historical and ideological roots in the rationalism of Ibn Rushd [12th century Muslim philosopher], in the social teachings of Ibn Khaldun [15th century Muslim historian] and in the utopian socialism of the karmats [radical Islamic sect]. In the given situation, what is the purpose of the author's appeal? In my view, he is calling for passiveness, and non-participatory contemplation of the processes taking place in the world. Why do we need revolutions, reads the pharisaical concealed meaning, if in order to achieve happiness it is sufficient just to be a believer?

All of this verbal tightrope-walking conceals the one true goal being pursued by the rabid anticommunists, sovietologists, and "prophets" of various hues and their ilk: it consists of attacks on Soviet reality; falsification of the policies of the CPSU with respect to believers; rejection of Marxist-Leninist teachings; and attempts to block the friendship of the Soviet people with the peoples of the developing countries who have chosen the non-capitalist path to development. The motives of such activities are wholly understood as well. All of this is being undertaken out of feelings of fear in the face of the beneficial influence of socialist ideas on the minds and hearts of the Muslim workers, and the truth about the Soviet Union--which is an example of the successful resolution of a multitude of social problems.

SEDITIONOUS CAREER OF SELF-STYLED KOLKHOZ HOLY MAN OUTLINED

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 14 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by V. Rabiyeu: "Going Nowhere": "Returning to the Printed Word After the Trial"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] On 31 January an article entitled "To the Classroom...With the Koran?" was published in our newspaper. The article described self-styled holy men and their milieu, and what blind faith in the "sacred" can lead to. Specifically, it cited an instance of disturbing the peace by the residents of the Turkmenistan Sovkhoz in the Vakhshskiy Rayon, owing to their religious leanings. Who is this person, owing to whom a group of believers came to clash with the law? Now we may speak of him in more detail:

Saidov, Abdullo Nuriddinovich: born 1947; a native of Garm; occupation, driver; education, secondary; held position of geodesic engineer at the Kurgan-Tyubinsk Inter-Rayon Technical Stock-Taking Bureau. The hand is reluctant to write, "worked;" he truly occupied an improper position, since he did not have the proper specialty for it. But he was completely satisfied with his job, in connection with the personal travel throughout the oblast it afforded. While on these trips he would perform religious rites; he propagated Islam zealously, and carried out religious work to increase the number of ardent followers of Allah.

The number of self-styled holy men has grown in recent years. From among basically rural inhabitants, individuals suddenly smitten with faith in the word of God have begun to come forth. As a rule they have had no theological education, nor have official clerical leaders bestowed orders upon them. They are attracted to the priestly walk of life primarily by their concern for their daily bread and the alluring prospects of winning from their countrymen the unquestionable authority of the priesthood. In actual fact, is it worth it to slave over the books for many years and then work steadfastly in one's chosen sphere, if there is a shorter and less difficult way to prosperity and honor? It doesn't take all that much to accomplish this: you let your beard grow, tie on a turban, take your prayer beads in hand, and memorize, for a start, several passages from the Koran.

In this connection I am reminded of an incident from my experience as a journalist. Several years ago the editor's office was haunted by a certain O. Kazeyev. He tried his hand at commentary, but soon became convinced that journalism--is hard work. And since "he was allergic to sustained effort," he gave some thought as to how he could live otherwise. To him, the meaning of life basically boiled down to his pleasures; but he was chronically short

of the funds to supply them. Once, while mooching about a mosque, he became interested in the lifestyle and income of the clerics and struck up a friendship with them. Less than six months later, the inept journalist and former Komsomol member departed for the madrasah [Muslim secondary school] at Bukhara, filled with dreams of a future which guaranteed a comfortable life.

Unlike the former, A. Saidov began his journey to divine revelation in his early childhood. By the time children his own age were learning their ABC's, Abdullo already knew the Koran by heart. The boy's father had a strong influence on him; formerly a sovkhos director who called himself a communist, he gave up his party card as soon as he retired. "For me, religion is now more important," he said, explaining the motive for his action.

Having God-fearing parents as his mentors, it's no wonder that Abdullo succeeded in mastering Islamic dogma and that he was already considered a Mullah by the time he reached the age of thirty. And by the time he is forty, judging from the position he occupies in the religious community, there is reason to consider him nothing less than an akhun [learned teacher] or even an imam.

A follower of Wahhabism [Islamic fundamentalism], who speaks out for the rebirth of the "purity" of Islam, and for "true" monotheism, A. Saidov does not recognize the official mosque, and accuses it of apostacy. He strives for communion with Allah apart from establishment religion, and preaches asceticism. Of course he himself lives in a spacious house with its own lemonarium, but after all, with a family of ten persons one has to live somewhere. Yes, well, who says that the house belongs to him anyway? In any case, he was unable to produce documentary evidence of the fact. The Mullah travels about in a comfortable Zhiguli, but that is also understandable: otherwise he would be unable to rush to his multitudes of followers.

All in all, in connection with his secret dealings, Mullah Abdullo is a great figure of authority. He is registered at the oblast center and lives on the Turkmenistan Sovkhoz in a private house, which God knows how, was erected right under the nose of the ispolkom of the Tadzhikabad Kishlak Soviet. He's constantly roaming about the oblast in an automobile registered in another name, with a Dushanbe license number. In densely populated areas, he does not begin his sermon until the lights are put out. He understands, no doubt, the illegal nature of his activities, which bear clearly-expressed features of religious extremism. And what does he pontificate about?

For some time A. Saidov has held to an idee fixe--creating an Islamic state on the territory of Tadzhikistan. He first spoke of this several years ago at a large gathering of people on the Kaynar section of Sovkhoz No 5 in Yavanskiy Rayon. Then he repeated his ravings while taking part in funeral rites on the the Pakhtakor section of Moskva Kolkhoz in Vakhshskiy Rayon. Incidentally, at that time the country was awaiting the 27th Party Congress, and the Mullah, taking advantage of the moment, persuaded the believers to appeal to the Congress with an absurd request. In April 1986 on the Khavaskor section of Turkmenistan Sovkhoz in Vakhshskiy Rayon, he practically incited the guests there to arms for the sake of realizing his ridiculous dreams.

By the way, he was given an official warning for spreading fabrications which besmirched the Soviet state and social system. He paid no heed, gave no thought to the consequences, and declared his innocence. He continued his inflammatory speeches, tried to persuade the believers not to permit their children to join the Komsomol and to forbid their daughters to study at VUZ's. And he complained of religious persecution. During collective prayer time in the teahouse on the Zhdanov section of the Turkmenistan Sovkhoz, his pitiful speeches brought tears to the eyes of the women, and angry cries from the men.

And so, step by step, Saidov slid into antisocial positions, and became a danger to society. It became necessary to put a stop to his illegal activity. During a search of Saidov's house, literature of a dubious nature was discovered, both samizdat and literature acquired abroad.

Thus, was the storm of protest from the believers in connection with the arrest of the self-styled Mullah justified? One would think that now, since sentence was pronounced by the oblast court, doubts as to his innocence would disappear of themselves. Those who were demonstrating at the administration building then, simply could not have known all the true facts in the matter, and came on behalf of Saidov's close relatives.

Upon becoming familiar with the case of the criminal Mullah, one experiences an altogether understandable feeling of bewilderment. After all, we are at the threshold of the 21st century, and here is an example of the thinking of a thousand years ago, according to which all the achievements of modern civilization and all social phenomena are evaluated by the criterion of their religious suitability. It is not a new approach, if one would but recall the black stone of the Ka'bah--a natural gift of the cosmos, which has become a sacred relic of the Muslims. And nonetheless, reason rejects such absurdities. In truth, the great Firdousi [ancient Persian poet] was a thousand times right, when he pronounced:

Reason will remain
in darkness forever,
Until man discovers
the joys of the intellect...

But how on earth did it happen that a religious atmosphere was created on the Turkmenistan Sovkhoz? A large part of its residents and workers turned out to be deceived to such an extent that they refused to listen to the radio or watch television; they did not subscribe to newspapers or magazines; and they ignored secular holidays and rituals. And this is not in a remote mountain kishlak, it's not somewhere out there in a remote corner of the taiga, but just a short distance from the oblast center.

By this time a great deal has become clear. The sovkhos party organization was unable to devote even a minimum of the required attention to atheist education, if only because the deputy secretary of the party committee was the older brother of self-proclaimed Mullah Asadullo Nuriddinov. And another brother worked here as farm manager. By now both are former party members. They are to no small degree responsible for the popularity of their "saintly" brother, and tried not to give offense to him.

The goings-on at Turkmenistan Sovkhoz can also be explained largely by the placidity of the directorate and by the deputies of the kishlak soviet. Having taken a compromising position with respect to the preachers, they entertained themselves and those around them with the notion that no great harm could come from praying. On the contrary, they said--a believer is always a disciplined, hard-working and obedient person.

On the whole one must take note of the fact that even today, in places, opinions of the usefulness of religious rites have not died out. One is even given to hear the humorous invention, that--Namaz [Muslim prayer], is physical exercise; ablutions are a hygienic procedure; and Uraza [30-day fast during Muslim observance of Ramadan] is a measure to purge the organism of residues; and the like. Such remarks are not so inoffensive when they involve the supervisory workers, whose words people are accustomed to heed.

Religion penetrates the mind and everyday life insidiously, little by little, on the habit-forming principle of, "You'll like it when you get used to it." At times a person does not notice how he becomes entangled by the arms and legs in a spiderweb of sticky phrases and mystical formulae. Religious feelings creep throughout the kishlak like a cancer, attacking an ever-increasing number of people, poisoning their intellect, and screening them off from reality with a curtain of false ideas. Yesterday there was "inoffensive" prayer; today participation in mass celebration of rites; and tomorrow... Where will this dubious attraction of today's young men and women lead? After all, Imam Abdullo taught his congregation to focus their attention first of all on the young people, seeing in them the future foundation of Islam. And so long as the party committee, the directorate, and the kishlak soviet remained in a state of drowsiness and tranquility, Saidov, who did not waste time and did not spare his own health, literally wrestled for every young soul, while multiplying the ranks of the followers of Allah.

And one must say, not without success. In this contest, the losers were those persons in whom the power, confidence, and great authority of the people was vested. In reestablishing justice, the news was delivered to the farm that R. Polvanov, sovkhos director, was expelled from the party, and that M. Kassirov, chairman of the ispolkom of the Tadzhibabad Kishlak Soviet, received strict party punishment and was removed from his post. Other responsible officials were also punished, including those at the rayon level. First Secretary of the Vakhshskiy Raykom, A. Khudoydodov, was given a strict reprimand and an entry was made on his party card.

The organizers of the incident on the sovkhos were also punished, and the religious adventurer Abdullo Saidov was isolated from society. In a word, everyone was rewarded according to his deserts. But for some reason, there is no guarantee that similar events will not be repeated somewhere in another place. The behavior of the witnesses during the trial of the self-styled Imam lends credence to such uneasy feelings. Some found reasons not to appear in court, and others suddenly began to change their previous testimony. Such as, for example, the director of Secondary School No 20 on Turkmenistan Sovkhoz Safar Radzhabov, a CPSU member. During the preliminary investigation he exposed Saidov, but during the trial, in the presence of Saidov's followers and relatives, his memory began to fail him.

It's only a stone's throw from the oblast courthouse to the city market. The multicolored flowers and abundance of fruits are appealing; I think I'll drop in. In the commotion of the bazaar, the following scene was played out: Approaching one of the shoppers, by outward appearance a typical educated person, was a man of about forty with a well-groomed beard on his fleshy face, dressed in a proper robe, with long, soft boots, and with a staff in his hand. Adopting a humble pose, he whispered something to the educated man, who nervously looked about, reached into his pocket, drew out some small change, and awkwardly dropped it into the proffered palm. After this they parted company. The saintly person passed along the bazaar stalls, and continued to gather his harvest of charitable donations, and the educated person headed toward the newspaper stand--no doubt to receive his next dose of proper thinking. All things considered, he accepted the preceding scene as a trivial part of ordinary life. Are such trifles not worthy of our attention?

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CS0: 1830/337

RABBLE-ROUSING ISLAMIC 'FANATICS' CONDEMNED

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 31 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by V. Rabiyeu, under rubric "On Atheistic Topics": "Into the Classroom--With a Koran?"]

[Text] Kalandar Sadurdinov still works as a foreman at the Kurgan-Tyube branch of the Packaging Production Combine of the Tajik SSR Union of Consumers' Cooperatives. But he is a foreman only in terms of his official job; K. Sadurdinov has found his vocation elsewhere--in the zealous service of Allah. All of this person's thoughts and deeds are directed to him alone.

There are believers who prefer not to advertise their belief and not to foist their own views on the universe, but to reckon somehow with the fact that the people who live and work around them are, by and large, atheists. From every indication, Kalandar Sadurdinov belongs to a different category of believer, to those who profess their religion furiously, as though showing off and presenting their whole character as a reproach to nonbelievers. Just as an actor cannot get by without a public, Kalandar the servant of God cannot conceive of himself without worshippers who are capable of sharing his enthusiasm for Allah. Incidentally, he himself calls himself a "Wahhabi," which means an adherent of Wahhabism--a reactionary religious tendency.

Considering himself an expert in the Shariat, he arbitrarily assumed the duties of spiritual mentor of a certain Abdullayev, a resident of the Sovkhoz imeni Kuybyshev. Carrying on soul-saving conversations with him, the sham mullah informed him that every person should know the hadiths--stories about the great deeds of the prophet Muhammad--to perfection. In this connection K. Sadurdinov recalled, not without vanity, that he himself, as befits a true Muslim, read the Koran in the language in which the original had been written in ancient times. At such moments his humble pupil, who wasn't getting along very well with Arabic grammar, looked at his teacher with reverence.

This exceedingly admiring look flattered the believer's vanity and reminded him of the respect with which he was received in the nearby villages. For some time the mullah Kalandar had practiced his preaching there, read the surahs [chapters of the Koran] and ayat [verses of the Koran], seen to the correctness with which the ceremonies of the mawlid [the birthday of a holy

figure] and iftor [evening meal which breaks a fast] were celebrated, and performed other deeds that were pleasing to God and profitable to himself. From visit to visit his popularity in the villages of Kommunisticheskiy Rayon had grown in proportion to the number of his charmed admirers.

It is interesting that the mullah-autodidact enjoyed the greatest respect not among simple kolkhoz members but among people with a higher education and, more frequently, by some irony of fate, with those who had a higher pedagogical education. Specialists whose calling is to enlighten people willingly rendered every assistance to the clergyman's dark activities. Thus, in the home of Sh. Ibodullayev, a teacher in Secondary School No. 38, Vakhshskiy Rayon, which is on the Turkmenistan Sovkhoz, the mullah Kalandar was the most desired and esteemed guest. This educator would somehow organize the performance of the iftor ceremony with the mandatory sacrifice of a sheep at his home. A good many sovkhoz residents would come to sample the fresh mutton soup. Inspired by the representative audience, Kalandar Sadurdinov would give an hour-long sermon about the role of Islam in the life of the present-day Muslim and about the need to strengthen its time-honored foundations, and he would call on each one to make a personal contribution to this cause that was pleasing to God. Those who were gathered would listen favorably to the "holy father."

On another occasion the mullah Kalandar arranged a discussion in the home of K. Saydaliyev, a member of the Kommunisticheskoy Kolkhoz in Kommunisticheskiy Rayon. A. Arzanov and F. Shofatov, teachers at school No. 16, and Sh. Ibodullayev, whom we've already met, came there at his insistence; the host's son, as well as the learned man B. Saydaliyev, came later. The mullah evidently decided not to waste time and asked without beating around the bush why they were not enlightening their students in matters of Islam. Weren't the biographies of the prophets and the imams engaging? Or, he asked, in your opinion, isn't the Koran more interesting than the constitution?

The contents of the discussion more and more noticeably leaned away from religious topics to the sphere of politics. The mullah, in passing, gave a negative appraisal of the Soviet Union's internationalist assistance to the Afghan people and, in the spirit of the Western radio voices, accused the limited contingent of Soviet troops that is stationed there of intending to convert the Afghanis into nonbelievers.

"Why do we listen to such blasphemous speeches?" asked history teacher A. Arzanov, coming to his senses.

To which mathematics teacher Sharif Ibodullayev, who had previously been called down for conducting propaganda for religious attitudes among his fellow villagers, objected with emotion: "For the sake of Islam I am prepared to sacrifice myself!"

The two other teachers preferred to keep quiet. Isn't it with such silent consent that self-appointed mullahs, wandering ishans [Sufi holy men] and other unordained servants of God, who often are absolutely ignorant--which, however, does not prevent them from passing categorical judgments about lofty

matters--have been flourishing and multiplying in recent years? Is it all that often that their fabrications receive a proper rebuff? Alas, such cases are isolated.

For example, in the village of Uchkun there was a graybearded old man who was not afraid of interrupting the preaching of K. Sadurdinov and who shamed him for dishonest talk and asked him to leave immediately the house in which he had been received as a guest. The mullah had the good sense not to cause a scandal. Despite the fact that it was long after midnight, he cleared out of the village of Uchkun together with his associates A. Iskandarov, A. Sadurdinov and A. Saidov.

If he had been shown such a reception more often, mullah Kalandar would not have reached the defendant's dock--the logical conclusion of his activities spreading knowingly false fabrications that defame the Soviet state and social system. For the most part, however, the villagers received him cordially, which may be attributed partly to traditional Eastern hospitality and, to no small extent, to a coincidence in their views on religion as a way of thought and life.

Were there people among them who were genuinely possessed by religious ideas? In general, no; the majority took part in religious ceremonies more for the sake of the socializing. But is it always possible to predict how far a sociable habit will take sympathetic people? After all, there are other cases---moreover, cases of an extremely troubling nature.

Last August on the Turkmenistan Sovkhoz in Vakhshskiy Rayon the internal affairs agencies arrested the citizen A. Saidov on charges of criminal lawbreaking. This ordinary event would quite likely have remained unnoticed if it had not been for one circumstance: the accused was known as a holy man and was known to believers by the name of the mullah Abdullo. His closest relatives A. Saidov and S. Yegiyev, who work as teachers, and A. Nuriddinov, a member of the CPSU--now a former member--got the idea that they could somehow take advantage of this case. They immediately made up a little story in which the mullah was portrayed as a martyr for the faith. And since that was the case, he ought to be rescued.

That same evening A. Saidov's followers, who had earlier created the aura of holiness around him, started to gather at his home. Inflaming the imagination of those who had gathered there with invented details, the instigators persuaded those present to go to the oblast center and demand the "martyr's" release. Soon a group gathered outside the internal affairs department in the town of Kurgan-Tyube and started behaving provocatively toward the police officers. The aroused people failed to respond to all the explanations regarding the essence of the case and continued to insist on the release of A. Saidov, who was under arrest.

Who raved more than anyone? It was one of them, the 22-year-old Shamsiddin Saidov, who is unemployed and lives on the kolkhoz imini Gorkiy in Kommunisticheskiy Rayon. His neighbor Khudoynazar Mamadnazarov, a young man who lives an idle life, raged along with him. When the tension among those who had gathered declined and people made an attempt to break up, they held

them with inflammatory cries: "Don't go away. We must be more persistent! A little longer and they will be forced to satisfy our demands."

Such appeals were also made to the deceived people by Sangak Dzhalyayev and Avgon Makhmudov, Kurgan-Tyube residents; Makhmud Zukhurov, a resident of the Turkmenistan Sovkhoz; and Barot Shukurov, who had come specially from the Sovkhoz imini Telman in Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon. They did everything but grab the hands of those who had already recognized the wrongfulness of their actions and were attempting to leave the administrative building. Incidentally, later on, when they would have to explain the reasons for such unbridled conduct, they would look almost repulsively pathetic, denying the obvious facts and babbling something incoherent.

The case of violation of the public order on the basis of religious fanaticism has already been given a principled appraisal by the oblast party committee. Measures have been taken by the justice agencies. However, it would be premature to consider this story over. That would mean soothing ourselves with self-deception. After all, similar cases uncovered in the oblast over the course of a year and forming, as it were, a logical series, are an indication of something.

In the settlement of Bustonkala, Kommunisticheskiy Rayon, the self-appointed mullahs K. Ibragimov and K. Tabarov organized a children's religious school. On the Turkmenistan Sovkhoz, Vakhshskiy Rayon, the "talent" of the sham clergyman A. Saidov flourished in the religious field. In Kurgan-Tyube the organizational abilities of the Wahnabi K. Sadurdinov find passionate supporters. Who is next? Where should we expect the next antisocial manifestations on the basis of religious fanaticism? Why do the religious adventurers succeed in extending their influence to certain strata of the population, including people who are trained as educators?

Incidentally, a word about pseudoteachers with the Koran in their hands. On that August day outside the internal affairs department building K. Ergashev, a student in the fifth (and final!) year at the Kurgan-Tyube branch of the Dushanbe State Pedagogical Institute "distinguished" himself. When a journalist asked instructgors in the division of physics and mathematics what sort of evaluation they had given their pupil in this connection, he heard in reply: "Oh, we really gave him a fright."

One would like to know whether they themselves had not been frightened--if only by the burden of their responsibility for the training of future educators who in the near future will be entrusted with shaping the moral qualities of the rising generation. Will they plant a beneficial seed in the children's hearts? Or will they be like the learned man Sharif Ibodullayev, who is ready "not to spare himself for the sake of the Islamic idea," and to set off to class carrying a Koran together with his textbooks?

8756

CSO: 1830/329

LOCAL RELIGION POLL IDENTIFIES 'ALARMING' NEUTRAL ATTITUDE

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by D. Kucherenko, member of the USSR Union of Journalists: "Facets of Atheistic Work. The Red Teahouse"]

[Text] The teahouse "Sharofat"- "Red Teahouse" shines with cleanly washed plate glass windows. It is planned as a center for an assault on the ugly vestiges of an old way of life in the Quarter imeni Abdullah Avlani in Tashkent, a center for propaganda and the inculcation of new rites and well thought-out and consistent atheistic work.

How did it all start? There is a mosque several meters from the teahouse. Motor vehicles entwined with nuptial ribbons drive up to the mosque fairly often. A nikokh [marriage] is performed there according to the religious rites. There is no doubt that a majority of those getting married are komsomol men and women. Unscrupulousness and temporizing are poor advisers and companions in life. These considerations became the first stimulus for the establishment of the quarter's center for ideological work--the "Red Teahouse."

Much has already been done. The quarter commission and the women's council of the rayon and teachers of the Tashkent State Pedagogical Institute imeni Nizami are doing the work. A university of culture, customs and mores has been established and a detailed plan for its operation has been compiled. Minovar Khodzhayevna Takhtakhadzhayeva, the prorektor of the Pedagogical Institute imeni Nizami, explains:

I talked with the local mullah and asked him to answer several questions. In particular, I asked: "The rules of the shari'at require that the nikokh rite be conducted at home, because women are forbidden from crossing the threshold of a mosque. Why do you perform the rite in the mosque and allow women inside?" He said that people demand it that way, because it is not convenient to do it at home. No answer was given to the question as to what happens in this case with the "unshakable" shari'at. The example is typical. The ministers of religion resourcefully adapt themselves to changing conditions. Moreover, this concerns not only rites. They perceptively attempt to reconcile religion with philosophy and science. And these attempts are not as naive as might appear at first glance. They can have an influence on the consciousness of inexperienced people. And they have to be counteracted by a profound

scientific and materialistic approach to problems of existence and consciousness and by an ability to persuade and to speak simply, clearly and with logic. Therefore, for our part, we brought in teachers from two sub-faculties to work with the people--pedagogy and ethics, and esthetics and scientific atheism. This work is being guided directly by Tukhtasin Kurbanovich Kurbanov, deputy to the secretary of the party committee.

A conversation took place with representatives of the rayon public and of the Pedagogical Institute imeni Nizami in the "Sharofat" teahouse about searching for non-traditional forms, because many of the old and tried ones had lost their aggressiveness and became ineffective.

Safar Utanovich Utanov, chairman of the council of the "Sharofat" teahouse and an assistant professor of the TGPI imeni Nizami, shares these observations:

"Before beginning work at places of residence, we had to analyze the people with whom we were to deal and to arrive at an overall picture. For this, members of a sociological research group made the rounds of the homes, talked with the residents of the quarter and distributed more than 2,000 questionnaires. A determination was made as to the level of education, requirements, needs of the population and its attitude toward religion. When the collected material was systematized according to age groups, an interesting picture emerged: many representatives of the older generation consider religion useful for human morality, and a sizeable group of those questioned are natural to it. A majority considers religion harmful and a brake on human and social progress. However, this is no reason for composure. Particular anxiety is caused by the layer of "neutrals." Proceeding from sociological research data, we drew up a plan of work. It became clear as to what kind of family and to whom special attention had to be given."

Kamara Makhkamovna Makhkamova, chairman of the rayon women's council, said:

"There are many complex problems in the work with women. Especially disturbing is the large number of divorces, the unhealthy situation in certain families and quarreling within families. As my observations have shown, the fault frequently is the poor understanding of young men and women of their obligations in a marriage. The mutual relations of the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law grow into a big problem. Many of the mothers-in-law, having suffered from their youth at the hands of their own 'old women,' in turn are 'making up' in their relations with their daughter-in-law. Mutual education is needed here. The sphere of family relations is very complicated. Direct interference here could only do harm. Therefore, the plan of work of the women's council gives preference to individual conversations.

It is also important that these conversations be conducted by people who are trained, sincere, patient, have an ability to listen and possess the gift of persuasion."

Aysha Turayevna Turayeva, a member of the council of the "Sharofat" teahouse and an assistant professor of the TPGI imeni Nizami, said:

"The main orientation of my scientific work is research on problems of training youth in establishing a family. My monograph on this subject was published recently. It examines questions of parental influence and example, the formulation of views on married life, and, chiefly, the teaching of a correct understanding of familial rights and obligations from the standpoint of communist morality. At present, I put the findings of my work into practice. There are great opportunities here for this. I am glad of this. Because the recommendations of many scientific writings frequently go no farther than their authors. Now the situation is different. Practice will suggest a little, and possibly some conclusions will have to be corrected, but the fact that the work is of practical benefit, gives great moral satisfaction."

The door to the "Sharofat" teahouse is not closed to anyone. There are always a lot of people here.

13052/7687

CSO: 1830/319

CRITICS EXAGGERATE, DISTORT VALUE OF REHABILITATED WORKS

PM191140 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 87 p 5

[Article by Doctor of Philological Sciences V. Baranov: "Enthusiastic, or Objective? On Certain Recent Literary Publications"]

[Text] Gorkiy City--On considering the peculiarities of the present-day literary process as a whole and certain works which are quite unexpectedly becoming part of our present intensive reflections about life, you cannot help remembering the old saying: "Books have a life of their own." The ancients, of course, could not even have imagined that this saying would acquire a very special meaning centuries later.

We are witnessing, as it were, the second birth of a whole series of writers who, through various circumstances, were either outside our motherland or, at least, outside our field of attention. Some of the latest journal publications of this kind are discussed below. But first, running ahead and seeking the most constructive dialogue possible with the reader, a few preliminary words.

Every time a movement of any scope begins in any sphere of public life, it attracts, through its very novelty, a large number of zealous and sincere supporters. But, let us be frank, here there is also something of the nature of--how can I put it?--a "queue effect." Is something "going"? I'd better get some too, just in case!

And you will certainly find yourself in a disadvantageous position if--like, alas, the author of these lines--you offer cautionary counsel at the beginning of a movement: Don't make a fuss, let us study carefully the values that are being brought into circulation, their real place in the spiritual culture of the 20th century.... "We know you!" those who are more resolute will probably reply. "We have hardly had time to taste the hidden fruit, and you are already hurrying to impose a taboo!"

There can be no two opinions about the fact that we must know Russian culture to the full. So the problem "to introduce or not to introduce" simply does not exist. But there is another problem: How this is to be done with the smallest possible losses, with dignity, if you like, and without fuss, so that every one of the "newborn" takes precisely the place he can claim by virtue of his talent as expressed in material form in his books.

Our attitude to our heritage requires historical justice, taking into account the entire range of values accumulated. Swinging first one way and then the other basically belittles the memory of those to whom people are beginning to pay tributes which do not always accord with the true measure of their potential.

It is necessary not only to continue publishing items while accompanying them with intelligent, objective opinions. It would be no bad thing also to start a real movement toward fundamental scientific generalizations and the examination of 20th century Russian literature as a complex system of ideological and aesthetic attractions and repulsions.

And now, to business.

Sharing his thoughts on the results of the past literary year, and therefore, naturally, on the new things, the critic I. Zolotusskiy nonetheless considered it necessary to begin his review (ZNAMYA No 1, 1987) with an important generalization going beyond the bounds of today. "Strange things are happening in literature. Someone who only yesterday did not dare say a word about Gumilev, is today an apologist for Gumilev...." But as soon as a selection of his poems appeared, "Yevg. Yevtushenko--the helmsman of progress--slammed on the brakes," saying that you can find bad poems in Gumilev too....

This is an obvious truth, and it is not quite clear why the "brakes" are needed. Does not this matter demand the "acceleration" of praise and eulogies? And is there any need to wait long for this acceleration? Has it not already begun? I will cite two examples.

While rightly giving due credit to R. Falk, the art historian A. Kamenskiy sinks into outright exaggeration, in my view, when he concludes his article in high "style": "He is one of those artists to whom eternity belongs" (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, No 48, 1986). And here is what Ya. Markovich writes about Nobokov's poetry: He "does not revel in detail, and is oriented to a greater degree than Pasternak toward the inner world rather than the external world" (KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE, No 43, 1986). When you read things like that, you despair.... Yet these and other similar statements had already been published when the article by I. Zolotusskiy came out.

Having found one reactionary among the literary "practioners" and not being worried about the real state of affairs, I. Zolotusskiy hurries to find a victim among the "literary theorists." He finds P. Nikolayev, whose fault is that in connection with the forthcoming publication of V. Nabokov's novel "The Defense" ["Zashchita Luzhina"] he expressed this thought: "The current concern to restore forgotten names is noble and natural. But a sense of moral and social moderation should be equally natural in this context."

Since we are talking about Nabokov's novel (which would be worth a special article).... It is undoubtedly a work of talent, portraying in an original way the psychology of intellectual creativity. But the flashes of stylistic

brilliance are by no means counterbalanced by the narrow conception of the individual who is, so to speak, excluded from life in the outside world and swallowed up entirely by the world of chess combinations. Luzhin's defense... is it not a defense against life?

The publication of the novel is accompanied by an authoritative, competent article by O. Mikhaylov, and the nature and tone of this article are fully in accordance with the idea put forward by P. Nikolayev.

It seems to me that the introductory note by Vl. Smirnov to the publication of poems by G. Ivanov (ZNAMYA, No 3, 1987) is also written with all due tact and understanding of the poet's dramatic evolution. However, it must be lamented that such an extensive selection (more than 50 poems) lacks dates.

I. Zolotusskiy accompanies his observations on the theorist's position with a barbed commentary: "The novel has not yet come out, yet is already time to observe a sense of moderation. That is how our theorists respond to agitation in the sphere of practice. It wants to be fully armed to greet the approaching storm, and believes that it is not yet evening, that the needle on the barometer will swing and fall firmly to 'fair'."

I can understand I. Zolotusskiy. The critic is evidently afraid that P. Nikolayev's opinion will be seized on by all those who are eager to put a brake on the processes now taking place and that they will interpret it as an argument in favor of their "conservative" position. Who knows, the same interpretation could be put on my article, yet is written precisely from the desire to safeguard the renewal which has begun against "deviations" of various kinds. It is written in the firm conviction that "exaggerated claims" could be used as a final trump card by those who would like to create obstacles in the path of renewal.

Among the people, it has long been customary to say: Measure seven times, and cut once. And I personally, far from seeing anything objectionable in P. Nikolayev's words, think that this is the only way to approach the matter. Surely it is clear, is it not, that what is being measured is not some cloth in a merchant's store, but a far more delicate "material," and it would be society's loss if everyone were to measure it by his own yardstick?!

We are living in dynamic times, and who knows, there may be "restructurers" who want to get "ahead of progress" and radically revise the "hackneyed" traditional wisdom: First they will cut seven times, and then they will set about measuring what comes out. Alas, we remember plenty examples of this--from corn to the creation of artificial seas. Have we really learned nothing from this, and has concern for cultural ecology got nothing to do with it?

As for the strange things happening in literature, here I. Zolotusskiy is certainly right. This "second echelon," to speak in comparative terms, has now begun to be expanded zealously with the names of writers who either went abroad after the revolution or remained in Soviet Russia, but, apart from works meriting revival, also created some which we should not be proud of today, any more than the authors themselves, doubtless, would be proud of them, had they lived a little longer.

The journal OGONEK, whose popularity is growing not least because of its publication of items devoted to literature, has begun to print an anthology of 20th century Russian poetry, under the direction of Ye. Yevtushenko. Let me say at once that in my view he is not only a major poet, but also an interesting critic whose work in this sphere has a value of its own (and the aforementioned article on Gumilev is further confirmation of this) [parentheses as published.] This article contains none of the emotion which sometimes turns into enthusiastic rapture, but it does contain a concerned and at the same time--and this is particularly important!--objective reading of the legacy of an artist who is being revived in our consciousness.

But let us get back to the anthology. Small selections of poems are prefaced by brief creative and biographical reference material, or thare annotations, where you can find concise characterizations, but which cannot help leaving a great deal unsaid. Sometimes they leave out things that cannot be left out if you do not want to fall into the error of blatant one-sidedness.

Opening the anthology, we find poems by F. Sologub. An editorial inset stipulates the rights of the compilers of the anthology to "personal tastes and bias" in the selection of works for the press. I think the poems chosen are not the most characteristic, and for some reason out of the vast poetic legacy created by F. Sologub over more than 3 decades until his death (1927), the emphasis is placed on early works (of the three poems published, two date from the nineties). Incidentally, here again the lack of dating is scarcely justified. This makes it difficult for the reader to find his bearings in the artist's development.

But something else is even more important. F. Sologub's development is exceptionally contradictory. Here we find idealistic exaggeration of the role of creative work (as opposed to changing the real world), as well as pessimism--to the point of extolling death, which caused Gorkiy to protest sharply.... But the main negative value in F. Sologub's extensive creative output was the notorious novel "Ghost Magic" ["Navi Chary"]. Written at the time of the defeat of the 1905 revolution, it aroused unanimous rage among advanced social thinkers. In the well-known article "The Night After the Battle" V. Vorovskiy likened F. Sologub to a marauder ransacking the corpses of fallen soldiers, and defined this novel as pornographic politics permeated with the desire to add "savor" to the revolution through pornography. And indeed, having failed to accomplish a social revolution, F. Sologub's heroes entered a phase of sexual "revolution."

It is necessary to know F. Sologub's work, just as it is necessary to know the work of any writer with a place in literature. But it is necessary to know the whole truth about him--his heights and his depths. And if anyone points out that the anthology is dealing with F. Sologub the poet, not the prose writer, then I will quote an entirely justified opinion on how an artist's creative work should be approached. "People can only understand a writer when they study him, and study all of him..." These words, incidentally, are those of...F. Sologub.

If it has been decided to familiarize a wide readership with the movement of Russian poetic thought, this should be done in a more considered way. It seems to me that certain cycles of selected works from time to time should be preceded by analytical articles discussing poetry in more detail, without disregarding the complexities which characterize many representatives of poetry.

The same inadequate annotation is characteristic of the introductory note on the publication of V. Khodasevich's poems in DRUZHBA NARODOV (No 2, 1987). The poet is declared to be a classical 20th century figure (not even in poetry, but, evidently, in literature as a whole, and perhaps art as a whole--but is not this going too far?). For all that, nothing is said about the contradictions of his development or the journalistic writings, which do not do him credit at all. A. Voznesenskiy wrote an essay on Vladislav Khodasevich entitled "Celestial Ant" (OGONEK, No 48, 1986), setting himself a more responsible task: He tries to "reconstruct" the creative nature of the poet as a whole. Clearly, given this approach, a highly historical viewpoint is important first of all. But let us not close our eyes to the fact that A. Voznesenskiy has offered the reader a typical essay--an entirely legitimate genre, with his characteristic freedom in presenting material and markedly subjective stylistic color. I personally find much of this frankly pretentious ("tragedy peers through each of the window quatrains where Weltschmerz watches the televisions in the apartments"). What is this about? I'm damned if I know.

Well, okay, let's say tastes differ. But I repeat, that is not the point. In order to raise V. Khodasevich to the necessary height, A. Voznesenskiy relies on Gorkiy's authority. Quoting V. Nabokov's words ("the greatest poet of our time"), A. Voznesenskiy immediately writes: "Gorkiy agrees with him... he described Khodasevich as 'in my view, the best poet of contemporary Russia....'" So now Gorkiy is being compared to Nabokov "himself"....

A. Voznesenskiy continues to rely on Gorkiy's authority, and this is important to him, especially since an "enamored view" was "expressed by...the founder of socialist realism."

Well, this is nothing less than a revolution in the assessment of 20th century poetic values! And whereas only recently Nabokov's queen was beaten by Pasternak's rook, now, it seems, they have found a king!

But how did it all happen in actual fact? There was in reality a period, lasting some time, of relatively close contact between Gorkiy and Khodasevich, and enthusiasm for the poet and very flattering opinions about him on Gorkiy's part.

But first, let us stick to the fact... "He and Gorkiy were close," A. Voznesenskiy writes. "Khodasevich often visited him in Capri."

Interesting.... Nothing of the kind has hitherto been known to students of Gorkiy. (I heard nothing about it during the time when I was trying to fix firmly in my memory the villa Serafina, perched high on the mountainous coast of this heavenly corner of the earth, where Gorkiy lived in 1906-1913). It is possible to establish from other sources that the contacts with Khodasevich began much later. And, incidentally, at the time of the greatest difficulties

in Gorkiy's inner development and dramatic contradictions in his attitude to the world. The "founder" was not merely "also" a living person. He was the universal man, with his very rich, complex inner world and sometimes sharply exaggerated subjectivity in his attitude to particular problems or individuals.

Gorkiy's positive, enraptured appraisals come from precisely this period (the words quoted by A. Voznesenskiy are from an article dating from early 1923). Anyone at all familiar with Gorkiy's life story has an idea what the previous year, 1922, had meant to the writer.

As Gorkiy's perception of the world stabilizes and as the writer overcomes his inner contradictions, his assessments of Khodasevich begin to change radically: "Struve is turning everything upside down. Vl. Khodasevich, having gone to Paris, is also talking about his emigre respectability in print. It is as tedious as a cellar where the pickled cucumbers have gone sour" (September 1925).

Gorkiy's comments on Khodasevich become increasingly critical. He observed indignantly that Khodasevich had begun, in Paris, to write "bad articles in White newspapers," and was annoyed about an article on Yesenin in SOVREMENNIYE ZAPISKI. The same assessment can be found in a letter to M.F. Andreyeva, and the word "friend" is placed between quotation marks (13 July 1925). I cite several comments so as not to give the impression of manipulating quotations selected at random or, worse, for tendentious purposes.

And, lastly, Gorkiy's final verdict on the "celestial ant," which puts everything in its place. "A strange man. Clever, but with a pitiful eagerness to tell every living thing, even the flies, about his own cleverness. He composes very good poems, writing movingly and with talent, very skillfully combining Baudelaire and Verlaine. But he made malice his main craft, and became very sophisticated at it...

"I am convinced that for him, a symbolist by trade, the real world is hostile and repugnant, but he values very highly the small pleasures and comforts of this world. Outside the quest for the 'fleurs du mal,' his mind is lazy. In assessing people and phenomena he is careless and hasty, and often this carelessness in him borders on ignorant Philistinism" (1925).

So that is what Gorkiy, the founder of socialist realism, really said. Hence, the conclusion: We should not be in too much of a hurry to pass off "sour cucumbers" as produce with the seal of quality. There is no state acceptance system in literature. Quality control should be exercised by the inner moral norm of the writer's existence.

And now a short digression in the direction of the contemporary psychology of perception of artistic values. Who is in the greatest demand among readers? Artists whose lives were difficult and tragic.

The recent articles by Pushkinists to mark the anniversary of the death of Russia's greatest poet expressed a legitimate and ubiquitous concern. What

happened to Pushkin and his family and led to the duel interests many people far more than what the poet wrote. If an artist suffered unjust blows during his life, the reader is drawn to him more actively, and that is understandable, because the desire for social justice lives in everyone's soul. This is confirmed by the interest in Akhmatova and Bulgakov, Platonov and Mandelstam.....

Yes, they must be studied, published, popularized, and assessed in full accordance with the extent of their talent. But sometimes people go to the other extreme. Justice is restored, but since during the artist's life he was "hard done by," let us speedily make up for lost time. And an escalation of rapturous epithets begins, a fuss which is to some extent forgivable in the early stages, but which in principle has nothing in common with a genuine love of literature. Artificially inflated assessments arise, and what is that but a form of "overreporting"?

And conversely an artist who has suffered no cataclysms becomes, as it were, less interesting. And if any of his works were below the level of his potential or to some extent paid tribute to the times and circumstances (alas, such things have happened!), not only do people begin to be critical of those works, but a kind of shadow is cast on all his creative work. I repeat, weaknesses, and especially concessions to opportunism, cannot be forgiven, but it is necessary, first, to assess what happens in the light of the entire set of circumstances, and, second, not to engage in what I would call anti-historical retrospection.

I hope the reader will forgive me this protracted digression, but I must illustrate the consequences to which such an aberration of vision can sometimes lead.

It is common knowledge that in recent years there has been wide interest in the work of M. Bulgakov, not only as the author of "the Master and Margarita." In 1976 an anthology was published in Munich: Mikhail Bulgakov, "Early Unpublished Prose"--stories and sketches which were published in the Berlin newspaper ON THE EVE in the very early twenties. In the opinion of F. Levin, the compiler and author of the introductory article, in these pieces M. Bulgakov "satirically lashes" the system in the country. But if we open, for instance, the sketch "The Golden City" ["Zolotistyy Gorod"], which F. Levin cites as an example of exposure, we find absolutely nothing of the kind. The same is true of the rest of the 25 works published. Positive enthusiasm clearly prevails, and pictures of the economic activity in the country and its revival are painted in clearly sympathetic tones. Of course, critical exposure of the NEP [new economic policy] scum can be found in M. Bulgakov, along with criticism of particular institutions which are not always successful in trying to build the new system. But that the Bolsheviks were the sole force capable of imposing order in the country and expressing the interests of the working majority--of this M. Bulgakov has no doubt, as is indicated with the utmost clarity by the works included in the anthology.

It is another matter that later, by virtue of a while series of fairly complex factors, the writer's perception of the world changes, to a considerable extent through the fault of the vulgarizing RAPP [Russian Association of Proletarian Writers] criticism. What I am talking about, however, is this: You cannot attach absolute significance to the latest sentiments and arbitrarily shift them in time and space so as to "superimpose" them on facts which clearly contradict this act.

/6662

CSO: 1800/441

RASPUTIN'S BIRTHDAY MARKED, RECEIVES ORDER OF LENIN

Writers' Unions Congratulations, Zalygin Article

PM241522 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 March 1987 carries on page 3 a message from the secretariats of the USSR and RSFSR Writers' Unions congratulating the writer Valentin Rasputin on his 50th birthday, together with a 3,000-word article about Rasputin by Sergey Zalygin, headed "The Writer's Populism" Zalygin lauds Rasputin's quality of populism [narodnost] and defends his tendency to write about local and rural concerns, expatiating on the relevance of these concerns in the wider world. He discusses the concept of the people [narod] and the writer's role in helping the people to form "an idea of itself, an idea which is not only real and critical, but also highly moral...." Rasputin, he notes, is marked by "the pain that arises from the failure of reality to meet the ideal," a characteristic of "literature that is truly of the people." He denies that the lack of "positive heroes" in Rasputin's work means that the work itself is not positive, pointing out that Dostoyevskiy had no positive heroes either. He goes on to discuss Rasputin's concern for nature and ecology and his moral concerns, observing that he "never propagandizes" and is open about his own doubts, before concluding by talking in general terms about Rasputin's literary style and its harmony of form and content.

Receives Order of Lenin

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 87 p 1

[Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: Concerning the awarding of the title of Hero of Socialist Labor to the writer V.G. Rasputin]

[Text] For his great services [rendered] in the development of Soviet literature, fruitful public activity and in connection with the 50th anniversary of his birth, the writer Valentin Grigoriyevich Rasputin is awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor with the investiture of the Order of Lenin and the gold medal "Hammer and Sickle."

[Signed] Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A. Gromyko
Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, T. Menteshashvili
Moscow, The Kremlin, 14 March 1987

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CSO: 1800/442

WEEKLY GIVES EXCERPT ON NEW SHATROV PLAY ABOUT LENIN

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 12, 30 Mar 87 pp 26-30

[Excerpts from the new play by Mikhail Shatrov: "The Brest Peace"]

[From the editors]

[Text] Seventy years. Is this a long or a short time? The answer to this common rhetorical question is that, on the one hand, it is a long time, but, on the other.... Seventy years is of course a long time. It is the better part of a century and, from the standpoint of its significance for all mankind, it is more than a century. Those 70 stormy, dramatic, at times tragic but on balance momentous and optimistic years of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

No magazine article can encompass more than a tiny fraction of the events that make up the history of that revolution. Therefore in the coming months we propose to dwell on some of the milestones in this history which testify to the intrinsic strength of socialism that enabled it to emerge victorious from the most critical situations.

The Brest peace treaty of 1918 has become a classic instance of political wisdom and realism in trying circumstances. Today it all looks simple and logical: the day after its birth the Soviet republic issues the Decree on Peace and, accordingly, enters into armistice negotiations (November 26, 1917), concludes an armistice (December 15), then begins peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk (December 22), is confronted with unacceptable terms by a quadruple alliance headed by Germany (January 18, 1918), tries to gain time but in the end signs a "shameful peace" (March 3). A few months later a revolution in Germany sweeps away the Kaiser, the treaty is annulled, a respite has been won, revolutionary Russia is saved, and the shame is forgotten.

But it was not for nothing that Lenin often repeated the words of his great forerunner Nikolai Chernyshevsky about the historical process not being as smooth as the pavement of Nevsky Prospekt (in St. Petersburg). If only everything were as simple as some heedless chronicler would make it appear! But we know how incredibly agonizing was the genesis of the decision that saved the revolution.

Today, seven decades later, we can learn much from the treaty now sunk to oblivion. It teaches us not to succumb to emotion and still less to catch-words. To be realists. How great was the temptation to spit in the face of the Kaiser's general, break off the negotiations and declare a great revolutionary war on the entire bourgeois world! Even Trotsky's "neither peace nor war" position struck many as a convenient way out. It was under that slogan that Trotsky, then head of the Soviet delegation in Brest-Litovsk, had torpedoed the negotiations and given the Germans a pretext for resuming hostilities. But history confirmed the correctness of the line of reasoning followed by Lenin and his comrades-in-arms: peace alone, a peaceful respite, could save the gains of the October Revolution. This was the main thing.

The decision to sign the peace treaty was evidence of the courage of a truly people's party that asked the people to accept an unpopular decision. The terms of the Brest peace treaty were indeed monstrously humiliating. They meant wresting from the Russian revolution Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, a large part of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Estonia. But the people stood by Lenin because he had found the correct way out of an exceptionally difficult situation. The fact that the Fourth Extraordinary All-Russia Congress of Soviets ratified the treaty by an overwhelming majority bears this out.

Another lesson is that the revolutionary people fully appreciated the courage of the party that had stormed the citadel of capitalism and tsarism under the banner of peace. The people did not want to go on fighting and shedding their blood in the interests of the bourgeoisie. But they rose to the defence of the revolution. It was at the tragic moment of the resumption of the German invasion that the Red Army was born.

Lastly, Brest had a bearing not only on the first world war and its termination. It was also a matter of relations between socialism and its capitalist neighbours. Why, it might be asked? After all, Russia was confronted with only a quadruple alliance. Britain, France and the United States had been Russia's allies in the war, but as "invisible participants" in Brest they were not on our side. In the first place they did not support the passionate appeal of the October Revolution for an end to the war. And secondly, they organized a blockade of revolutionary Russia and were preparing an armed campaign against it.

An answer to what was virtually a bloc of capitalist powers was given during the Brest negotiations: the revolution would defend itself, but it was ready also for peaceful mutually advantageous existence with them. Lenin demonstrated the fallacy of those who saw the future of Europe in an immediate assault by the revolutionary forces on capitalism. It is not a paradox or an exaggeration to say that it was precisely at the time of bitter struggle over the Brest peace treaty that there emerged the concept of peaceful co-existence which was proclaimed on behalf of the Soviet republic in Genoa in 1922 and which to this day has remained our concept of how to build peace. It was at that time that the deepgoing connection between the revolutionary

changes in our country and a peaceful future for Europe first asserted itself. Peace is an intrinsic fundamental requirement of socialist society. Peace is not only a political slogan, it is a requisite of successful development, of constructive endeavour.

In a word, Brest is a subject for long and profound contemplation. We propose to examine it in a way not customary for a magazine and give the floor to a playwright. Mikhail Shatrov is well known as a master of the documentary play. His plays and film scenarios reconstruct with remarkable veracity a picture of past tempestuous years. He has just finished the play "The Brest Peace" (it is to be published in the April issue of the journal NOVY MIR).

The action takes place against the background of a chorus consisting of soldiers, workers, peasants, journalists. Among them are Lenin and other members of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party.

The play is built on many planes. We have chosen the concluding scene. The time is after the negotiations in Brest have been scuttled by Trotsky and the Germans have declared the armistice over. On February 18, the Germans launched an offensive. In heated, acrid debate in the Central Committee, Lenin at first failed to win the support of the majority needed for the adoption of the only correct decision. He was opposed by the adherents of "revolutionary" phrasemongering who went so far as to suggest that the loss of Soviet power could be risked. Continuation of the war was urged also by a U.S. representative in Russia, Colonel Raymond Robins, who promised to provide Lenin with "concrete proof" that the U.S. and Britain were prepared to extend aid to Russia. On February 23 the German government presented a new ultimatum. A decision had to be taken.

GERMAN GENERAL: A new ultimatum was sent to the Bolsheviks this morning. I must say our foreign office and the high command have done a good job. The ultimatum contains all the demands that could possibly be advanced. Under these new terms, Russia will lose a population of 46 million, 26 per cent of the total; 75 per cent of its coal, 73 per cent of its pig iron; 37 per cent of its harvest, 26 per cent of its railways, and so on. The Bolshevik headquarters is bound to meet to discuss it. I very much doubt it will accept the ultimatum, because it is worded in such a way that the Bolsheviks will be insulted and reject it. And that is just what we want: we will then move on St. Petersburg and wipe out the Bolshevik contamination that is threatening the whole civilized world.

In the foreground is Lenin's office. Several members of the Central Committee are bending over the German ultimatum.

STAIN: What does it say?

BUKHARIN: Their terms are a thousand times worse than before. They expect our answer at 7 a.m. tomorrow.

LENIN hurries into the office.

SVERDLOV: No change.

(The members of the Central Committee enter the office one after another and seat themselves.)

Comrades, we now have to decide what is essentially the fate of our revolution. I consider it my duty to remind you of this. And so, do we accept these terms or not?

BUKHARIN: Give up half of Russia or not? Even to ask that question is ridiculous! We all of us here might as well go out onto the square in front of the Smolny and commit suicide before the eyes of the workers! That would at any rate be more honest.

SVERDLOV: What is the way out then?

BUKHARIN: We have to muster all our strength in a single fist and strike back full force. That would be the answer of revolutionaries to the arrogance of imperialism.

LENIN (bursts out in fury): Enough! Enough! I will not tolerate this for another moment! Enough of playacting! Not another moment! A revolutionary war requires an army--we have no army. The revolution needs peace, and peace we can have! The policy of revolutionary palaver is over and done with! Finished, Comrade Bukharin! If that policy continues even now I shall immediately withdraw from the government and from the Central Committee and go to the masses. But I will not tolerate revolutionary phrasemongering any longer! That's all! Be so kind as to accept my resignation!

A stunned silence ensues. It lasts for a long time.

TROTSKY: Comrades, we have heard Vladimir Ilyich's statement. What can one say? For me his arguments are totally unconvincing. If we were unanimous we could defend ourselves and cope with this situation perfectly well. We could go on arguing with Vladimir Ilyich. But that is not the point now. We need maximum unanimity. We do not have it, and therefore I cannot take the responsibility of voting for war.

STALIN: I don't think we need sign any peace treaty, simply start peace negotiations.

(LENIN shrugs his shoulders in indignation, but STALIN does not notice it.)

They are deliberately provoking us to reject their terms. Since we have no means of halting the German offensive by armed force, we must take other measures. It is either a respite or the end of the revolution. There is no other choice.

DZERZHINSKY: There won't be any respite, all that is Utopia. By signing a peace treaty on these terms we will only strengthen German imperialism and we

will in no way be guaranteed against new ultimatums. Let us face the truth squarely. By signing such a peace we will save nothing. But I agree with Trotsky: if the party were strong enough to withstand a breakdown and Lenin's resignation we would be able to adopt a decision. Now we cannot.

LENIN: I sense and hear that some of you resent my ultimatum. I present it only as a last resort. And we have come to such a pass. Stalin is wrong when he says that we need not sign. Those terms must be signed. If you don't you will be signing the death warrant of Soviet power, which will not last more than three weeks. These terms do not affect Soviet power, can't you understand! If the supporters of Bukharin and Lomov in Moscow could have gone to such lengths as to entertain the terrible and monstrous thought of the possible loss of Soviet power, they are capable of anything! This is the mentality of a raving petty bourgeois and not of Communists. I have no hesitation whatsoever. I have presented my ultimatum not in order to withdraw it.

LOMOV: The way out proposed by Lenin will lead the revolution to disaster and hence I shall not take that road. There has been much talk here about panic in the army, but in reality there is no such panic. Fear has big eyes, as they say. We can do a great deal if we want to. But you should not let Lenin's threat to resign frighten you. We must take over power without Vladimir Ilyich! We must go to the front and do everything possible. Enough of faint-heartedness, be equal to the tasks the world proletariat has entrusted to you!

SVERDLOV: Who else wants the floor?

(Silence. LENIN alone paces back and forth in his corner, three steps to the left, three steps to the right.)

Very well, let us put it to the vote. (Wishing to delay the climax): Any-one else want to speak?

(ALL are silent.)

We will vote on only one question: Shall we immediately accept the new German terms?

DZERZHINSKY (unable to stand the strain): Comrades! Before voting we must recess. We have to calm down! We are too excited! We are not listening to one another! The fate of our party, or our whole movement is in the balance! We are on the verge of a split! I demand a recess!

SVERDLOV: Who else wants a recess? No one? In that case let us vote on the new German terms. Who is in favour of accepting them? Lenin, Sverdlov, Stasova, Stalin, Zinovyev, Smilga, Sokolnikov. Who is opposed: Bukharin, Lomov, Uritsky, Bubnov. Who abstains? Trotsky, Dzerzhinsky, Joffe, Krestinsky. Thus, seven members of the Central Committee are in favour, four are against and four abstained.

BUKHARIN: What sort of a majority is that, when the four who abstained are also opposed? They were simply intimidated by resignations!

URITSKY: On my own behalf and on behalf of Central Committee members Bukharin, Lomov, Bubnov and of alternate CC member Yakovleva, and also Pyatakov and Smirnov, I want to make the following statement: not wishing to take the responsibility for the adoption of a decision we consider deeply erroneous and disastrous for the Russian and world revolutions, all the more so since the decision was adopted by a minority of the Central Committee inasmuch as the four abstainees side with us, we declare that we are resigning from all responsible party and government posts, reserving the right to agitate freely both within the party and outside it for what we believe to be the only correct course.

STALIN: This is a split! This is factionalism!

ALL are silent. Everyone is at a loss what to say.

TROTSKY: I believe I ought to explain my motive for abstaining. I am sceptical about the possibility of achieving peace even at the cost of surrender. But I did not want to prevent the emergence of a majority in support of a common line.

LOMOV: Vladimir Ilyich, do you allow for the possibility of open agitation against the conclusion of peace?

LENIN: I do.

STALIN: I should like to raise this question: does the resignation of comrades from responsible posts not mean that they are actually leaving the party? After all, the Brest neither-peace-nor-war decisions were also adopted by a majority of one vote and we accepted them, did we not?

LENIN: Withdrawal from the Central Committee does not mean leaving the party.

URITSKY: Although Stalin suggests that we leave the party we have no intention of doing so. We are leaving our responsible posts, but not the party. The congress will decide who of us speak for the party.

STALIN: Comrades, I am not accusing anyone. I believe that you have the right to do as you think best. I merely wish to say how painful it is for me to see the comrades go. After all, there is no one to replace Lomov, Smirnov and Pyatakov. Do these comrades realize that their behaviour will lead to a split? If you want clarify and not a split I beg you to postpone your decision until tomorrow, or better still, until the party congress.

LOMOV: No! You are not postponing your reply to the Germans, you will carry it into effect at once! We will not defer our decision either.

SVERDLOV: The supporters of peace have as yet no cause to rejoice. The reply to the Germans must be given not by the Central Committee of the party but by the supreme body of state authority--the All-Russia Central Executive Committee which will have to endorse our decision, and that will not be an easy matter. Considering the existence of opposition parties and that the Left Socialist Revolutionaries are sure to vote against us, I must impress upon you that every vote will be worth its weight in gold. Unless there is unity in the ranks of the Bolshevik group, the viewpoint of the Central Committee will not get the majority in the CEC.

BUKHARIN: You want to deprive us of the freedom to vote as we please?

SVERDLOV: Yes, comrades, there will be no such freedom in this case. All the Bolsheviks must vote as one in line with the Central Committee's decision. All members of the CEC are asked to be present at the meeting, all other affairs must be laid aside. I repeat, every vote counts. Who does not intend to come? No one. Good. If we act in a united front some Left Socialist Revolutionaries might be won over. I declare this meeting of the Central Committee closed. I ask everyone to go to the Tavrichesky Palace where the CEC is to meet. There is very little time left until 7 a.m.

A group of Latvians leave their places in the CHORUS and enter LENIN's office.

LATVIAN (in heavily accented Russian, his voice trembling with emotion): The Brest peace spells the doom of Soviet power in Latvia. Yet, it does. By voting with you for that peace, we are actually signing the death warrant for the finest sons of the Latvian working class who are now languishing under the Germans...and who tomorrow will be sent to the gallows on the strength of our vote. This is very hard to take, comrades. It is a great tragedy for us Latvian members of the CEC. But we understand that the main thing now is to save Soviet Russia, which in the future, we are convinced, will come to our aid, will help to restore Soviet power in our country. That is why we have decided nevertheless to vote with you for peace.... But we beg you to understand how we feel, how agonizingly painful this is for us.

LENIN (after a pause): We cannot ask for superhuman behaviour. This is all very painful for these comrades. I believe that we ought to thank the Latvian comrades for displaying genuine internationalism, and at the same time I propose that they be exempted from voting. We will have a few votes in reserve without them.

SVERDLOV: Any objections? None. (To the Latvians) I have only one request to you--when the voting begins, please leave the hall so that the Bolshevik group should remain solid and undivided, so that no one should see that some of us are not voting. That's all, comrades. Let us go to the Tavrichesky Palace.

ALL leave except LENIN and SVERDLOV.

LENIN: Well, what do you say, Yakov Mikhailovich, will our people falter in the CEC?

SVERDLOV: They might.

LENIN: Then I shall have recourse to the last expedient...I shall go up to the platform and I shall shout, demand, plead--with my eyes. They will all have to face me once more.

DZERZHINSKY returns.

DZERZHINSKY (greatly agitated): Comrades, you know me well enough.... The revolution is my whole life...it has been a hellish struggle...but the heart lives...and it always bleeds when there is injustice...I still cannot reconcile myself to the thought of Brest.... But I understand now that if we do not do this, others will have to begin all over again.... (exits)

SVERDLOV: I quite forgot. (Takes a sheet of notepaper from his pocket.) Robins asked me to give you this.

LENIN: Is it the answer of the American government?

SVERDLOV: It's in English...I haven't got beyond German yet.

LENIN (takes the paper, reads and translates): "The support of honest people the world over...." (Smiles.) That is very important, Colonel Robins. And in time it will become a decisive factor. (To Sverdlov): It's time for us to be going. What's the matter, Yakov Mikhailovich? Are you ill?

SVERDLOV: Just tired, Dead tired. (Sits down.) It's a complete split, Vladimir Ilyich...Will we hold out...?

LENIN (after a long silence as he collects his thoughts): Yes, of course.... This is the greatest crisis our revolution has faced.... But we now have something new to learn which will help us to heal this breach. Life, the day-to-day experience of the masses. If the breach between us went deep down to the masses, a split would be inevitable. But the unity of the masses is now being rapidly restored. Under the impact of the facts the masses will understand the correctness of the policy of obtaining a breathing spell and, by their pressure from below, will compel both halves of the party to come together, and the breach will be closed. Closed.

SVERDLOV: I'm ready. Let us go.

In the foreground, the CEC session hall. The CHORUS now consists of the members of the CEC. All the seats are occupied. There is a hubbub of voices as stormy debates continue. But the noise subsides when LENIN and SVERDLOV appear. SVERDLOV goes over to the platform. LENIN takes his place in the CHORUS.

SVERDLOV: Comrades, members of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee! Only one question is being submitted for your consideration: shall we accept the new peace terms? In view of the importance of this question for the fate of the Russian and world revolutions and in order to emphasize the responsibility of every member of the Central Executive Committee, it has been decided to vote by roll call. I ask each member whose name is called to mount the platform and loudly state his or her position. Let us begin.

A dead silence reigns. LENIN rises and goes over to the platform: now every member as he votes will be unable to avoid his eye.

SVERDLOV: Member Avdeyev!

AVDEYEV: I am opposed to peace.

The CHORUS bursts into a storm of applause, shouts and abuse.

SVERDLOV: I call for silence! Akulov?

AKULOV: For peace.

SVERDLOV: Karakhan?

KARAKHAN: For peace.

SVERDLOV: Kakhovskaya?

KAKHOVSKAYA: Against!

SVERDLOV: Steinberg?

STEINBERG: Against!

SVERDLOV: Martov?

MARTOV: Against!

SVERDLOV: Spiridonova?

SPIRIDONOVA: I am against peace.

SVERDLOV: Yenukidze?

YENUKIDZE: For peace.

SEVERDLOV: Dan?

DAN: Against!

SVERDLOV: Lunacharsky?

LUNACHARSKY: For peace!

SVERDLOV: Kollontai?

KOLLONTAI: I agree to peace.

SVERDLOV: Dzerzhinsky?

DZERZHINSKY: Yes, peace.

SVERDLOV: Lomov?

LOMOV: For peace.

SVERDLOV: Uritsky?

URITSKY: Peace.

SVERDLOV: Bukharin?

BUKHARIN (going over to the platform and addressing Lenin): You would cease to respect me were you to learn that I, Nikolai Bukharin, your disciple, acting against my Party conscience, raised my hand in favour of a decision which, it is my deep conviction, kills the revolution. (LENIN looks at him in silence.) Vladimir Ilyich...(LENIN is silent.)

SVERDLOV: Bukharin?

BUKHARIN: What am I to do, Vladimir Ilyich? (LENIN remains silent.)

SVERDLOV: CEC member Bukharin?

BUKHARIN: I am against peace.

The CHORUS breaks into shouts of "Bravo! Shame! Quiet!"

SVERDLOV: Silence, please. Let us continue. Gorbov?

GORBOV: I refuse to vote!

SVERDLOV: Stalin?

STALIN: For peace.

SVERDLOV: Sokolnikov?

SOKOLNIKOV: For peace!

SVERDLOV: Joffe?

JOFFE: For peace!

SVERDLOV: Fabricius?

FABRICIUS: I abstain!

SVERDLOV: Trotsky?

Silence. No reply. ALL look around.

SVERDLOV: Trotsky?

VOICE: Not present.

SVERDLOV: Zinovyev?

ZINOVYEV: I stand for peace!

SVERDLOV: Ryazanov?

RYAZANOV: Unquestionably opposed!

SVERDLOV: Ulyanov-Lenin?

LENIN: Peace.

SVERDLOV: Sverdlov. For peace. Kamkov?

KAMKOV: Against.

The lights go out and come on again. Voting ends.

SVERDLOV: Comrades, the voting is over, permit me to announce the results. For peace--116 votes, against--85, abstentions--26. Thus, the proposal to conclude peace, submitted by the Bolsheviks, is adopted.

Sverdlov's final words are drowned out by shouts of "Traitors!" "Russia's sold out!" "Shame!" The Bolsheviks rise from their seats, gather around Lenin and advance to the proscenium.

LENIN (in a low, confiding tone, to himself, to us, to his comrades): We are forced to sign this.... We must have the courage to face the unvarnished truth. The better we realize this and the firmer and more unbending will be our resolve to ensure that Soviet Russia will fulfill its paramount international duty--to build a new society, to enable the peoples of the world to realize their cherished dream, to counter war, and the abominations and baseness of capitalism with peace and the purity and grandeur of socialism. What do we need for this? Peace or war? For us there is no alternative. We have to build, and hence for us the desire for peace is not a tactical manoeuvre in a moment of weakness, it is the sum and substance of the whole of our policy, our whole lives. An hour of peace is worth a thousand times more to socialism than a day of war, even a victorious war. Learn from the painful but useful lessons of the revolution, comrades. Learn in order to win. [Curtain]

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CSO: 1812/57

EDITOR COMMENTS ON SATIRICAL SCREEN MAGAZINE

OW210441 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2340 GMT 19 Mar 87

[From the Novosti newscast; Bakarinov video report]

[Text] Twenty-five years have passed since the first appearance of the all-union satirical screen magazine FITIL.

[Begin recording] [Bakarinov] A birthday is always a pleasant, exciting, and, at the same time, responsible event. During the magazine's lifetime, 299 vivid, interesting, and acutely satirical issues of FITIL have been released. The creative path of the magazine was blazed by these issues created by the labor of people who were not indifferent, but confident of their rightness, and therefore bold and principled. One can talk a lot about the popular magazine, but, I think, the person most qualified to do this is its creator, Sergey Vladimirovich Mikhalkov, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and hero of socialist labor.

[Mikhalkov; video shows him sitting in an armchair] FITIL delves into all spheres of life. It is concerned with problems of management of the national economy, spiritual development, everyday life, morality, environmental protection, and protection of nature and cultural and historical monuments. FITIL looks upon the world, at the reality that surrounds us, through the eyes of workers, kolkhoz peasants, scientists, and through eyes of the intelligentsia. It is simply a matter of their nonacceptance of the dark sides of our life being presented by FITIL from the screen of public opinion. When such great work on consolidating the Leninist norms in life is taking place in the country, and when a war without truce or respite is declared upon all kinds of negative manifestations, the significance and role of satire, in particular of film satire, and its creative role in the revolutionary and transforming activity of the Communist Party and the Soviet people grows even more. [End recording]

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CSO: 1800/463

MOSCOW ART EXHIBITION 'BANS NOTHING BUT BOREDOM'

PM201411 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 11, 15 Mar 87 p 10

[Fedor Lastochkin article: "Face to Face"]

[Text] "They did not appreciate Rembrandt in his lifetime.

"Don't compare Rembrandt with these..."

"Van Gogh, too, died in total poverty."

"Well, he had not been much better than those..."

I overheard this dialogue in the exhibition hall of the Krasnogvardeyskiy District during the February art show by Moscow artists under the Motto "The Artist and the Times".

The exhibition was held on the ground floor of 35 Millionshchikov Street.

The exhibition opens with "Orpheus", the bronze statue of Vladimir Vysotskiy. Next to it is a small table with the Book of Comments, which contains scores of spirited remarks about the statue. Some visitors assert that it is only work worthy of attention at the whole exhibition. Others demand that it should be destroyed. There are proposals to send the sculptor logging in Siberia. Some people thank him for having revealed the inner man in the great personality, others suggest that the sculpture be "clothed".

The point is Orpheus is naked. Vysotskiy's admirers have never before seen their idol treated like that. This is, of course, unconventional, but the way the subject is discussed makes me sad. It reminds me of a conversation in a clothes store: "This is the wrong colour, and I don't like the cut, and please give me a bigger size...." What is most shocking, however, is the absolute confidence (never borne out by our salespeople, incidentally) that the client is always right. Apparently, such an attitude is typical not only of the average exhibitiongoer, but also of art administrators. The very fact that out of 67 participants in the exhibition (63 of whom are members of the Artists Union), more than half have never before had their works exhibited is quite revealing too. In the 12th day of the exhibition, it was visited by L. Grigoryeva, chief of the Art Department in the Central Administration of

Culture, who said that the exhibition had not yet been opened "officially". Most artists had to heed that, because it could very easily be closed. All the more so since the said administration had previously made short work of the proposed cultural events, having presumably considered them not "cultured" enough.

"The Artist and the Times" displayed a variety of tastes, styles and forms. Brought together under the same roof were poignant topicality, posters, grotesque, constructivist puzzles and decorative compositions. The one thing that was "banned" from the exhibition was boredom. The organizing committee did their best to present works of all genres. They are not to blame for large numbers of visitors being unable to appreciate absence of a jury and allotment of an equal portion of floor area (2.5 sq m) to every exponent, irrespective of his or her age or merit, is by no means the only possible approach. But it is good as a remedy against the acquired democracy deficiency syndrome threatening to ruin the essentially democratic form of human activity called Art. It is hard to tell who was worse hit by it, the artist or the viewer. Nor am I sure that it would be right to draw a line between the two in the situation whose poignancy was revealed by the exhibitions in Kuznetskiy and Millionshchikov St.

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CSO: 1812/57

PAPER QUESTIONS ACTIONS OF CRIMEAN TATAR 'RENEGADES'

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by I. Bilyalov from LENINABADSKAYA PRAVDA for 30 December 1986: "'I Condemn the Path You Have Taken...'"]

[Text] In the spring of 1986 PRAVDA VOSTOKA carried the article "Makeshift Renegades". It dealt with two residents of Tashkent--Rishat Ablayev and Sinaver Kadyrov--who were on trial for putting together nonsense and compiling anti-Soviet lampoons and attempting to hand over material containing slanderous fabrications discrediting our social and state system to foreign subversive organizations conducting an ideological struggle against the USSR. They were particularly willing to supply such information to the "National Center"--an anti-Soviet den which has settled in New York and which has close links with Radio Liberty of sorry repute. The fascist stooge Memet Muyedinov, who welcomed Hitler as the "great liberator of the peoples from Bolshevism," works in the "National Center" to this day.

Together with their symnpathizers Ablayev and Kadyrov had encroached on a holiday which is sacred for every Soviet person--Victory Day. They had concocted an "appeal" in which they declared that the victory over fascism had given the "fighters for human rights" nothing. They distributed this provocative, shameless "document" among the students of a Tashkent VUZ.

The newspaper's article had extensive repercussions not only in Uzbekistan but in many neighboring republics also. Soviet people emphatically condemn the behavior of slanderers and declare vain the attempts of our ideological adversaries to drive a wedge into the relations of the Soviet brother-peoples. Today we offer readers a response to the article "Makeshift Renegades".

...I read the article "Makeshift Renegades" carried in PRAVDA VOSTOKA for 1 April 1986. I at once called attention to the fact that Rishat Ablayev and Sinaver Kadyrov are manifestly wandering in the dark or, to be more colorful, I saw people who had confused their motherland, the country where they live, with the bourgeois world. I simply cannot grasp what business of a foreign citizen's our shortcomings or unsolved problems are. What was the point, one wonders, of compiling and putting together anti-Soviet lampoons, why did you, Rishat and Sinaver, consider it necessary to address subversive anti-Soviet ideological centers in the West?

What do you and the Crimean Tatars generally have in common with them? How could you not have perceived the gains of the Great October, why is this not freedom of the individual here and how could you have dared encroach on Victory Day?

These questions suggest themselves and require an answer. Indeed, why did this happen with you, young people? Can a person who considers himself a citizen, a patriot of his people, his entire land, his great country, turn (even attempt) for "help" to our ideological enemies, who have today unleashed wide-ranging psychological warfare for the sole purpose of undermining Soviet society from within in order to destroy us morally, spiritually and, if you will, physically. The apologists of imperialism are employing for this literally everything possible and impossible, including influence on the youth. Surely you understand that those to whom you attempted to appeal have never given and are not now giving any thought to helping solve our problems?

It would be a mistake to believe that the enemy's ideological centers and every conceivable "voice" and the so-called "free press" are conducting their propaganda in isolation from real soil. They (these "helpers") carefully follow existing problems and trends in all spheres of our life, endeavoring to make use of certain individual facts to distort the general picture, in the approach to the solution of national questions in the sphere of the national-state arrangement included. Nor are your anti-Soviet lampoons harmless, they render the renegades definite assistance, of course.

What is this? Your lack of understanding, world outlook, naivete or myopia? Yes, you have a certain store of knowledge, but it has not, unfortunately, developed in you into the conviction of a true Soviet individual.

Yes, in the almost 70-year history of the Soviet state we have made certain mistakes, but we have tremendous achievements and victories. Including the victory in May 1945. For this victory the Soviet people paid what was for us the highest possible price--the lives of millions of sons and daughters. Among those of whom the people are proud were Alime Abdennenova, Abdulla Dagdzhi and Guldzade Sofu, twice Hero of the Soviet Union Ametkhan Sultan, heroes of the Soviet Union Abdul Geydarov and Seytnafe Seytveliyev and many, many others.

In the name and for the sake of what did you encroach on this day, which is sacred for all progressive mankind? This was blasphemy, derision for our living and dead! Do you have the right after this to speak on behalf of the people? I believe not. I think this way, as do the people, for it is unpardonable for anyone ever to commit sacrilege against the human, nationwide memory. This is unconscionable, inhumane.

Having learned about what happened to you, I also blamed myself. Yes, I had heard of you even earlier and had even met you once. And I regret that I did not find the time and, perhaps, the desire to exchange opinions with you on the questions which trouble us and find out what's what and who's who.

I have believed and continue to believe that we will come to grips with the problems within our multinational country ourselves and will solve them without anyone's help from the West, particularly all kinds of centers, radio stations, administrations and so forth.

We are the whole Soviet people. Not to see and not to understand this is to be blind and deaf.

It is very painful to me that Memet Muyedinov and other renegades are working there in the West for anti-Soviet organizations engaged in ideological sabotage against our country and organizing provocative mob rallies at the buildings of diplomatic offices of the USSR abroad and at the UN building. And it is appropriate to ask them a question: what is their attitude toward our people, toward us? And if they still hope for some erosion of our multinational state and a split between the nations and peoples populating the USSR (and there are more than 120 of them), we can only advise them to put aside these hopes, for the faith of our people in the policy of the Soviet state is strong.

8850

CSO: 1830/383

TAJIK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OUTLINES PRIORITIES

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 31 Dec 86 p 3

[Takikta article: "Main Trends in Science. At a Session of the Tajikistan Academy of Sciences General Meeting"]

[Text] A general meeting of the Tajikistan Academy of Sciences was held in Dushanbe. Its president, M. S. Asimov, delivered an address on "The Tasks of the Academy of Sciences in the Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress in the Republic."

The principal speaker and others who spoke, including academicians Kh. Kh. Karimov, B. I. Iskandarov, Kh. Kh. Mansurov, and corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences M. M. Kukhtikov, R. K. Rakhimov and I. A. Glukhov, emphasized the importance of the process that was taking place in forming a science strategy for the republic. It was noted that Tajikistan now has a scientific production potential that enables it to conduct research and test development in the area of both fundamental and applied science that is oriented first and foremost on the resolution of important socio-economic problems.

Priority research directions in the areas of natural and social sciences up to the year 2000 were drawn up and approved. Special attention is being given to the development of research in the areas of theoretical and applied mathematics, particularly information science, and also solid-state physics. Detailed work is being continued on the fundamentals of obtaining new materials with valuable technical properties, the synthesis of biologically active substances for the needs of medicine and agriculture, and more advanced methods of estimating seismic dangers and assuring the seismic stability of building designs. The level of scientific substantiation of forecasting mineral deposits and their comprehensive utilization will be raised. Biologists will have to give more attention to the creation of high-yield types of important agricultural crops and the selection of cotton plants. Priority directions for the social sciences were also determined.

Program-objective research planning should play an important role in increasing the efficiency of scientific search. At present, institutions of the academy are taking part in the development of eight union and ten republic scientific-technical programs associated with prospects for the development of the

national economy. The speakers unanimously emphasized that one of the main tasks of the academy is to make a decisive turn to the needs of socio-economic development of the republic.

In connection with this, specific examples were given of scientific achievements being put into practice, which attests to the fact that more attention is being given to this problem lately. However, the necessity for a more drastic turn by scientific institutions to direct practical requirements for accelerating scientific-technical progress remains as acute as ever.

The fundamental research of institutions in the physical-mathematical, chemical and geological science departments has not yet found as much application as, for example, the research of biological institutions. In 1968 the national economy of the republic utilized the developments of four out of seven departmental institutes--Institute of Seismic Stability Construction and Seismology, the Computer Center, the Physical-Technical Institute and the Institute of Chemistry, although the last lowered its contribution somewhat in comparison with the previous year.

Evaluating the situation critically, the scientists expressed their views on the need to pay closer attention to financing research programs and to speed up reforms in the area of research organization and planning, especially in economic research. Nor has the pressing problem of research coordination, which needs serious improvement, been removed from the agenda. It was also said that efforts to increase the level of research should also be fortified at their material base; efforts to equip laboratories with highly efficient scientific equipment still frequently lag behind today's requirements.

Concern over neglect in the matter of training personnel for science resounded at the meeting. Over the years it has not improved in a number of republic VUZ's, and here and there previously attained positions were weakened. But it is precisely in the VUZ's that the selection and training of young people for responsible work in fields of science should begin. Directly connected to the personnel question is the fact that the work of the basic academic cells--institutional collectives--is not distinguished by its productivity in a number of cases; if the task arises to pour fresh, energetic forces into these collectives and to succeed in getting every scientist to work at maximum output, then concern should be shown in the preparation of such forces. The results of the certification process of scientific workers which took place in the academy, and which disclosed quite a few shady dealings in the selection and placement of scientific personnel, lead to this conclusion.

The speakers stated with regret that the lag in the construction of science facilities has become a sad tradition. Therefore, many of the speeches emphasized the need to give greater attention to these facilities, on whose construction the resolution of important tasks in scientific-technical progress and science itself sometimes depends. The speakers also attached important significance to the speedy creation of a broader production base for putting scientific developments into practical use.

The scientists spoke with deep interest about the necessity for increasing the efficiency of the system for keeping informed on achievements in both national and foreign science and about the need for improving science publications.

The general meeting of the academy adopted a detailed resolution aimed at a radical increase in the effectiveness of republic science and its output.

Participating in the work of the meeting were G. B. Bobosadykova, secretary of the Tajikstan Communist Party Central Committee, and Y. G. Usmanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

13051/12851

CSO: 1830/317

POLICE CAPTAIN MURDERED WHILE ARRESTING DRUG ABUSERS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 87 p 6

[Article by G. Sazonov, PRAVDA correspondent: "An Arrest: The Courage of Militia Captain Mikhail Tkachev"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Orenburg--He was walking his beat on a summer evening on the city's outskirts where a group of drug addicts had gathered at a late hour. Their paths crossed. Captain Tkachev did not return to his loved ones and comrades. The tragedy in the settlement of Podmayachnyy stunned the residents of Orenburg by its cruelty and cynicism. Recently, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium posthumously awarded the Order of the Red Star to militia captain Mikhail Grigoryevich Tkachev for his bravery and selfless action.

There are almost legends about the personal fearlessness, purely human qualities, and the tenacious professional skill of the senior operative commissioner of the Promyshlenny Rayon Department of Internal Affairs. In response to our request to talk about his experiences, Tkachev joked: "Fancy that, you've discovered Sherlock Holmes as well." He felt that he was doing ordinary work.

However, at midnight a woman turned up and predicted that a wanted person would show up in the area of the brick plant. After making his report at the division, Tkachev arrived at the entrance way of the enterprise. Through the guard house gate he noticed that a taxi had passed by the plant. When the Volga turned around he recognized the passenger in the back seat as Pashayev (former shop chief at this plant who was wanted for the embezzlement of a particularly large sum of money and official forgery). Tkachev stopped the vehicle and the criminal took to flight. Darting behind the corner of the plant administration building, he drew a knife and waved it menacingly at the policeman. Fortunately, he just ripped the jacket, and once again took off at high speed.

"Halt! It is I, Tkachev!" snouted the captain.

"I have nothing to lose..."

On the run he pulled out a sawed off gun, turned around, and squeezed the

trigger. The bullet whistled past. No, the criminal did not succeed in getting away...

It was possibly this episode with Pashayev that came to Mikhail's mind as he was driving behind the wheel of his Zhiguli that July evening just on that road on his way to "Shanghai" as that microrayon on the outskirts had been nicknamed. He knew the area well. As a student at the highway tekhnikum he rented a room on one of the streets there.

In Podmayachnyy he met Larisa Artamonova, his future wife. Her parents lived here on Ukrainskaya Street. Tkachev was driving to see them that evening. His three-year old Irinka was a delight to her grandfather and grandmother. After playing a little while with his daughter, he said: "I'm going to take a look and see what has changed around here..."

The sky had not yet become completely dark. It was about a ten-minute walk from his mother-in-law's house to the next house on that same Ukrainskaya Street where Tkachev was going. While Mikhail Grigoryevich, without suspecting any danger, is walking the last path of his life, we will have to offer some essential explanations.

Having worked in the militia for more than ten years Tkachev had raised the level of his professional training from year to year, during this time he completed a course for criminal investigation inspectors and graduated from the USSR Academy of the MVD where he wrote an outstanding course paper on the struggle against drug addiction. That topic was no random choice. Mikhail had been working on the exposure of such crimes for some time. He was instrumental in the confiscation of dozens of kilograms of anasha, hashish, and similar drugs, took part in the investigation of several major thefts of narcotics from pharmacies, and exposed 111 crimes concerned with drug addiction. Deputy Chief of the Rayon Department of Internal Affairs Operations Division G. Yakovlev recalled:

"It just so happened that it was on a holiday, Militia Day, that we found out that a certain Shinkarev nicknamed Blin had arrived in the city from Central Asia with a fairly large amount of narcotics. It was certain that the visitor had begun to sell his wares. How should we organize a search? I called Misha, and what luck, he was there and knows the drug dealer by sight. The latter lived in Podmayachnyy at one time. We got into the car and went to the "spots." Mikhail asked that we slow down not far from one store..."

Yakovlev and Tkachev inconspicuously went up to the group of people crowded around a man who had a shabby shopping bag at his feet. The officers saw how he deftly "banked" 60 -- 80 rubles for a tea glass of anasha. Mikhail recognized the dealer straight off and suggested that they go into the store to weigh out his "goods." In the store "Blin" suddenly recollected, flung the bag to the side, and began howling in heart-rending tones that he didn't have anything. But the evidence was there -- several kilograms of narcotics. Then the "merchant" undertook another sly move. As they were getting into the car, he started to stuff a packet of bribe money into Tkachev's pocket.

This is the kind of man who came down from the hill at midnight toward the low "adobe" which he passed and then entered the courtyard of his home. This was A. Mikhaylovoy-Tishelman. What can one say about this person? He was 37 years old. He was unemployed and had a teenage dependent daughter. He was indicted for theft. Tkachev knew that Mikhaylovoy-Tishelman's house was a sort of transfer point for drug sales. The captain had been there on more than one occasion, and this time he proceeded calmly and confidently.

Mikhail found the usual company. The oldest was Dergachev, a twice-convicted addict. Standing in the corridor were two young women, 17 year-old V. Guseva and her chum I. Luchina who never worked anywhere. I. Golikov, Mikhaylovoy's room-mate, also did not burden himself with a job.

The captain's trained eye discerned that several of the group had already given themselves injections. He got out his note pad and started to write down some information about an unfamiliar person, Vladimir Gancharov, 23 years old, not employed anywhere, and residing in Podmayachnyy. It is difficult to say what was said by the operations official as events unfolded further since there was no outside evidence available other than the testimony given by the criminals. But it was clear that the captain's arrival did not cause any joy on the part of the people gathered in the den. Armed with an axe and hammers, the drug addicts suddenly fell upon the captain.

...It was as if some kind of jolt got Tkachev's wife out of bed in the middle of the night. She was overcome by an incomprehensible anxiety about her husband. She recalled how she was dumbfounded in the spring, after Mikhail had detained a dangerous criminal, by an inscription on the bus stop in "Shanghai" that read: "Kill Tkach!"

By that time the criminals had almost destroyed the evidence of their evil deed. They mutilated the captain's body with unheard of sadism, then took the corpse on a motorcycle to Sakmar, carried it across the river on a boat, and buried it under the riverside sand. The axe and hammers were thrown into the river.

After listening to Tkachev's wife's story, militia personnel immediately undertook a search. Soon thereafter they succeeded in tracking down Dergachev. But the armed criminal decided not to give up and was killed in an exchange of fire. Gancharov was captured in an ambush.

The investigation of the case took up several volumes. It resulted in a concise reconstruction of a whole chain of violations which either directly or indirectly led to the crime. Here are just some of them. One of the main participants, Gancharov, was indicted for a drunken brawl in which he was injured. During that summer he was supposed to be placed under arrest. However, he roamed about freely and was being treated by a doctor L. Shimanskaya. As the official investigation indicated, she prescribed ephedrine ampules without any reason for Gancharov who sold them to Dergachev, who in turn converted the drug into a potent narcotic. On a fateful July evening Gancharov gave his friend ten ampules. All of the accomplices in the murder led parasitic lives.

The oblast court handling the Tkachev murder case was chaired by N. Silin. In accordance with the law, each one of the accomplices, including Gancharov was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment followed by a three-year period of exile. I do not question the court's decision. Nevertheless, it brings up some somber thoughts. In its determination of the punishment, the court was guided by the fact that the operations official was carrying out his official duty, but was not protecting public order. In one way that is so, but in another it is not. Surely, the line between one and the other is quite a shaky one. Captain Tkachev's feat is that he shut down a den that no longer exists and that will no longer attract innocent souls into its mire.

And there's one more thing that should be said. The settlement of Podmayachnyy has about eight thousand inhabitants most of whom are workers at machine-tool construction, industrial rubber product, and brick plants, and a furniture factory. It is a settlement with an extremely low level of crime prevention factors. The entire microrayon has only one telephone booth, and it doesn't always work. There is no strong point here for the protection of public order. If something happens, there is no one to turn to. On the day of the inspection, according to official data more than forty persons were living in the settlement without a permit. In such circumstances parasitic elements feel quite free to do whatever they wish.

Mikhail continues to live in the thoughts and deeds of his comrades and serves as a model for them. I saw his picture on desks at the Promyshlennyy Rayon Department of Internal Affairs. His name will forever be inscribed on the personnel roster. His name appears on the memorial board in the oblispolkom internal affairs administration building. An assembly of citizens in the village of Dedurovka not far from the oblast center decided to name one of the streets after Tkachev. The ispolkom of the Orenburg city soviet renamed Shevskaya Street which leads to Podmayachnyy and in which Mikhail once lived, Captain Tkachev Street.

6289

CSO: 1800/349

UZBEK MVD ARRESTS POPPY GROWERS, DESTROYS SECRET PLANTATIONS

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by M. Babintsev under the rubric "Epilogue to a Sentence": "Narcotic Weed"; first paragraph is SELSKAYA ZHIZN introduction]

[Text] This summer the Uzbek MVD carried out operation "Black Poppy." The operation included the participation of militia personnel and public representatives. Secret narcotics plantations were identified and destroyed. Criminal proceedings were instituted against many persons who were growing the narcotic weed and who were making drugs from that grass that are hazardous to health.

If Tashkent resident A. V. Kommisarchuk had been home that morning, upon the answering the front door bell she would have seen a young man. Then, smiling, the young man would have said softly: "Excuse me, I got the wrong apartment!" But Alla Vasilyevna was at work, and after breaking the lock, Sergey Zaporozhan opened the door. Valuables of the absent owner, worth more than four thousand rubles were hurriedly stuffed into a bag. After having "acquired" the goods, Zaporozhan divided the take with his companions, Valeriy Mironov and Vitaliy Yemashev. Then the pals headed for a quiet blind alley on the outskirts of the city where a certain Kakadzhan Redzhepov lived. After purchasing several grams of a black-brown powder from the latter, they injected themselves right there.

This threesome had made frequent visits like this to Redzhepov.

"Quite a bit of money was demanded for the drugs," Valeriy Mironov testified later. "We couldn't earn that much, so we found other means..."

And I looked at this pitiful person who had lost interest in life. Now he and his accomplices are serving sentences of six years or more.

How did these people lose themselves, and who failed to notice them and when? After all, even though they are young, they were already married and had children. Their parents went through hardships of cold and hunger during the war years in their youth. And these three could have become useful citizens to society. Alas, fate did not will it so. They lost interest in life because of their pernicious addiction to narcotics. After first having tried

the drug out of curiosity, they had become slaves to the narcotic for many years.

Within a period of a year the threesome burglarized dozens of apartments in order to buy drugs. Mironov, Yemashev, and Zaporozhan turned over two thirds of their stolen money (over 60 thousand rubles) to Redzhepov in payment for narcotics. The drug dealer understood the psychology of addicts and their morbid impatience and he exploited it, and just like a spider that sucks the blood from its victims, he trapped them in his web.

Redzhepov had a spacious home and a Volga in which he made trips around Central Asia in search of new batches of "goods." At the beginning of his "career" he almost became a victim of drug addiction, but managed to break the habit and instead turned narcotics into a source of personal gain. One has to wonder how this person who was obviously living a parasitic life escaped any questions on the part of anyone as to where he was getting the money to live on such a grand style.

It turned out that it was not that difficult to break the criminal bond between the addicts and the drug dealer. The young Uzbek MVD operatives lieutenants V. Vasilyev and V. Safin, after having gone out to track down the addict Mironov, quickly apprehended the others as well. The cunning Redzhepov managed to escape, however, and lived with relatives in Turkmenia for almost a half year. Once he thought the danger had passed he returned to Tashkent where he was apprehended soon thereafter.

In the meantime, the republic's MVD offices were becoming more active. A certain Abdulakhat Kuchkarov from Andizhan was stopped at the airport by senior militia lieutenant B. Mukhtarov. Just as Abdulakhat was asked to open his suitcase, he rushed into the crowd. Lying underneath beautiful Andizhan roses in the suitcase were cellophane packages containing 270 grams of narcotics that he intended to sell in Kuybyshev.

And here, in this case, the indifference of those people who live along with those who make a non-labor income and who lead not only a parasitic but criminal way of life clearly shows through. Abdulakhat Kukhkarov lived in the kolkhoz imeni Lenina in the Leninskiy Rayon for many years and never worked anywhere. This was known to the farm's supervisors and neighbors who never said anything about it. Everyone waited and expected that the militia would come and there would be an investigation! While they waited the dealers did their dirty work: they demoralized society and devastated others with their cynicism.

The criminal investigation division of the republic's MVD undertook considerable painstaking operations.

"Take a look at the faces of these persons and their hands," division chief militia colonel S. G. Chernyy said to me. He showed me the criminals' photographs. Their needle-pricked arms were scarred and blood stained. "The struggle against drug addiction is going to be long and difficult. We first must find the people who are secretly cultivating narcotic-containing plants. And that is not easy..."

Of course it won't be easy, although it's not in some far away place in the mountains or in Kyzylkumy but rather right near Tashkent that a poppy plantation almost one-third of a hectare in size has been flourishing for many years. A representative of the Kalinin raykom and I went to the suburban sovkhos Khaskovo in order to see that very narcotic grass field.

The road wound around gardens and orchards and then finally came up to metallic gates locked with a warehouse lock. The wall was encircled by reeds and the pathway to the plantation was obstructed by deep ditches. Behind the gate two dogs were fiercely pulling at their chains. We could not get into the "territory" so we went to get help from the owner, the vegetable-growing foreman of the Khaskovo sovkhos Sunnat Sadykov.

While he restrained the dogs, we slipped into the farm yard. Steer and heifers were peacefully chewing hay. There was an apiary house with a large beehive. A boat and cataraman were on the shore of the lake. Any farm would have been envious of the forage reserves. A large vegetable garden was separated by an irrigation ditch. And if you just stepped over a wood pile behind that ditch, there you would find a poppy field 23 hundredths in area.

"My father turned the farm over to me. He worked on it all his life. I followed his footsteps and have been foreman here for more than 30 years..." In uttering these words Sadykov seemed to be saying: Here I am an upstanding person and they are asking me about some kind of poppy...

"But you know that such a large piece of land cannot be inherited! According to the law your entitlement is only one-half or one-third as much..."

"But it was a no-man's land that belonged to no one!" Sadykov shrugged his shoulders in bewilderment.

And those were the words of a kishlak soviet deputy and a member of the communist party for 30 years! Yes, prior to May of this year, before officials of the Tashkent Internal Affairs Administration headed by militia captain Kh. Azizov had discovered the poppy field, the land was not listed in the books of the Nazarbek kishlak soviet. And this happened in a place where every one-hundredth part of a hectare is so valuable.

Of course, some one was punished for that lack of control. The former sovkhos director and chairman of the kishlak soviet were dismissed from their duties. Foreman Sadykov was allowed to remain at his job but was severely reprimanded at the party raykom buro and those charges were entered into his registration book. The charges against him were put this way: For years he walked through the flourishing poppy field indifferently...Naively or perhaps put more accurately -- without scruples! When the militia caught foreman Sadykov, as they say, red-handed, he suddenly declared that his land only went up to the irrigation ditch, and that the remainder of the plot was used for poppy cultivation by the pensioner Usman Khaydarov. This old man, in spite of his advanced age was in good health. but then on the second or third day of the investigation suddenly died and took all of the secrets of the case to his grave.

That fact should have caught the attention and aroused the suspicions of the law enforcement organs. But instead of an investigation at the Kalininskiy Rayon procuracy, a document appeared whose wording forced one to wonder: "...Sadykov, and the person in charge, knew that poppies were growing alongside his private lot but he didn't even deign to report this to the competent authorities..."

But wait a minute, the fact that Sadykov as an official concealed this crime for many years, certainly doesn't speak in his favor. The foreman deserves a severe reprimand. And what if we go into this thing more specifically? The land, after all still belonged to Sadykov and even if the deceased Khaydarov did grow poppies, he couldn't have done it without the participation of the owner. In other words, where is the logic? Could he have seen that poppy bulbs were being collected in his orchard without knowing where they were going? Moreover, here was a farm whose dimensions were hardly recorded by the kishlak soviet, a fleet of boats, a high quality farm guarded by howling dogs... What was this all for? In short, this case requires a return to the Kalinin party raykom and the investigating authorities.

In front of me is a list of spots where either poppy or Indian hemp is grown. These plantations are smaller than the one that belongs to the foreman from the Tashkent Khaskovo sovkhoz, but the number of those plantations is alarming. Villages in many oblasts of Uzbekistan are covered with them like maggots. And the crux of the matter may not even be that a total of a hundred bushes of Indian hemp were discovered in the yard of T. Kurbanov from a kolkhoz near Samarkand or that one and one-half hundredths of a hectare of poppy plants were found at T. Sultanov's orchard who is from another kolkhoz in the Andizhan Oblast. Both of those persons violated the law and became suppliers of narcotic-containing substances and in some places prepared drugs. They made personal profits at the expense of other people's health, broke up families, deprived children of their parents, and turned people's lives into ruin. That is where the calamity is!

A coordinating conference of law enforcement organs recently took place in the republic that was concerned with stronger action in the struggle against drug addiction. It was noted with alarm that there was a lack of close interaction between the procuracy and militia and the local soviets and public organizations in most cities and villages of Tashkent Oblast. Narcotic-containing crops are frequently cultivated openly here in large fields. So far, the militia organs have made no records of the persons who have been engaging in the cultivation of poppy and hemp.

The participants of the "Black Poppy" raid have concluded that the trail of crime extends beyond the borders of the republic. Take Mikhail Ponayedov from Dzhambul. He not only cultivated but also purchased hemp from his neighbors from which he made powerful narcotic substances. The primary users of Ponayedov's "products" lived in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia.

First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Uzbek SSR Major General E. A. Didorenko told us that "one characteristic feature of the addicts whom we have detained is that they either have committed crimes previously or they were

about to commit one. A drug addict is socially dangerous in a society of healthy people and our task is to isolate the addict from society. The principal goal is to eradicate the possibility of crime whether it be drug addiction itself, the trading of narcotics or the cultivation of narcotic-containing plants."

As I listened to Eduard Alekseyevich I recalled the following case: V. Nogay, a resident of the Ellikkalinskiy Rayon of Karakalpakia had long since become addicted to drugs and decided to "make happy" his neighbor A. Borodenko, a young fellow. Soon after that, the youngster himself asked for a dose of the narcotic. The militia halted the benevolent neighbor in time. V. Nogay was convicted but he managed to cripple lives of other people. This case warns us once again as to how vigilant we must be in order to save our youth from the pernicious influence of drug addiction.

The first inclination is to try the insidious drug, and later crimes begin from the orchard where the narcotic-containing plants are grown. There are dozens of hectares in which a square meter of such plants is grown. And they yield tons and tons of drugs. We must put an end to the poisonous plantations, and this must be done quickly and in a coordinated fashion.

6289

CSO: 1800/348

TEACHER DEPLORES STUDENT IGNORANCE OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by V. Cherednichenko, teacher of literature at Dnepropetrovsk Secondary School No. 45: "A Lesson of Literature: School Reform"]

[Text] Once I had to substitute for a teacher of literature in the 10th grade who had fallen ill. We spoke about the novel VSADNIKI [Horsemen] by Yuri Yanovskiy. At the end of the lesson a few extra minutes were left, and I asked the students:

"Which contemporary writers do you know?"

There was silence. One girl said hesitantly: Yuri Mushketik, Vasil Kokhan, Mikola Lukiv, Vladimir Kashin.

When I told them that the Writer's Union of the Ukraine includes more than 1000 members, the class was surprised. I gave their names, works, and movies based on these works. The students' faces gradually brightened.

"I read this novel in the journal UKRAINA," one recalled. "Only I did not pay attention to the author's name."

"Is the movie U PRIZRAKOV V PLENU [In Captivity of Phantoms] really based on the novel CHUZHOMY ORUZHIE [Alien Weapons] by Kashin?" another student said with surprise.

The school children were taken by the conversation, and questions started coming. And I asked them to name Dnepropetrovsk writers and their books. The class was embarrassed. I reminded them of some books, PAROL DP-3 [Password DP-3], ULITSY GNEVA [The Streets of Wrath] and started relating their contents to them. It turned out that they had read the books. The latter was read by half of the class.

"This is about a Pavlograd underground group," a student specified.

I then gave the name of Fedor Zalata and began to discuss his novels NA YUGE [In the South], PEREVAL [Summit], V STEP' POD KHERSONOM [In the Steppes at

Kherson]. It turned out that the students had read these works, but no one knew anything about the author, even the fact that he lived in Dnepropetrovsk.

I asked another question:

"Which literary journals of the Writers' Union of the Ukraine do you read?"

Silence reigned again.

I left the class in a somber mood. This was one of my first classes after graduating from the university. I shared my impressions with a colleague. He said:

"A teacher is given unlimited possibilities for creativity. There are almost twenty hours of elective reading. . . ."

Now names of Dnepropetrovsk writers and poets appeared in the academic calendar along with required reading. Elective reading classes became considerably more animated. Not only the students, but also their parents expressed approval for the new approach. The father of an 8th grade student admitted:

"You know, I have collected books for half of my life, but I did not know that there are many good writers in Dnepropetrovsk, because I didn't risk buying books of unfamiliar authors. One day I looked through my son's notebook on literature and became interested in Dnepropetrovsk writers. I read several of their books and regretted that I have learned only now about local authors.

Whose fault is it that this individual learned of the works of the Dnepr River writers so late? Evidently, it is the school's fault. Where, if not at school, should he learn about everything concerning classical and contemporary literature? I visited many towns in the Ukraine and met with school children in Yalta and Odessa, Zaporozhye and Kharkov, Kiev and Poltava. Only very few of them can name local writers.

Why don't teachers discuss this at their classes? One colleague of mine from another school gave a straightforward answer:

"Where can I find methodological guidelines? And the plans which are given 'from the top' contain nothing like this."

Apparently the Ministry of Education, the Writers' Union and the State Publishing Committee should have a say here, because the program for elective reading should include discussion of works by local authors at literature lessons. Manuals and guidelines are needed. Schools await biographies and works of these writers.

So this is something to contemplate. And for the time being the lack of one's own initiative and creativity should not be justified by the absence of methodological guidelines and directives "from the top." In fact, no one forbids teachers to use the hours for elective reading according to their discretion, no one deprives them of the right of creative search and

experimentation. No one forbids them from concluding literature lessons with a few minutes of poetry and to familiarize students with new works by local authors. School children will accept these minutes with gratitude.

It is helpful to use a questionnaire to select works for discussion at an elective reading class. For example, I do not impose on students those works which I personally like, but ask children to name those which interest them most. Students analyze these works with joy and write creative essays discussing them. This is a major source of inspiration.

The third year of the school reform is going on. Let us think it over: has much has changed in classes at the school level?

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